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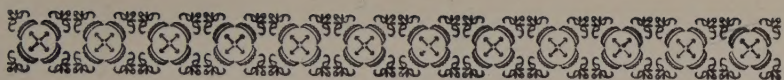
A SHORT HISTORY
OF SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND

SHOWING RACE & LANGUAGE
BETWEEN THE VIth & VIIIth CENTS



EARLY CHRISTIAN SCOTLAND.



A SHORT HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

*From the Earliest Times to the Outbreak of
the Great War*

By
GEORGE MALCOLM THOMSON

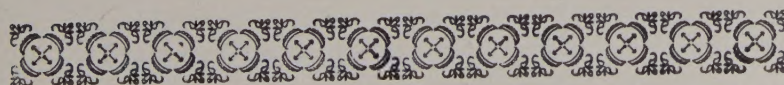
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The Rediscovery of Scotland
etc.

WITH FOUR MAPS

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TO MY MOTHER

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PREFACE

THE writing of this sketch of Scottish history was undertaken because I felt that there was need for an account in which the main lines of national development were not blurred by events of an ephemeral nature or a fortuitous interest, in which the cultural, social, and economic background was filled in with some care and which displayed the continuous life of the Scottish national organism down to the present time. It is, unfortunately, impossible for me to persuade myself that I have been able to do more than indicate to others, better equipped, a manner of treatment which is, I am convinced, capable of discovering new significance and freshness in the oftentold story of Scotland.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my friend, Mr. L. W. Sharp, of Edinburgh University Library, who has guided me to sources of information which I should otherwise have overlooked, and has given me, most generously, the benefit of his learning and judgment.

June, 1929.

*At this present tyme I am besy with
our story of Scotland to purge it of
sum Inglis lyes and Scottis vanite.*

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

I

BEYOND THE WALL

ONE day about ten thousand years ago, more or less (a qualifying expression which may be interpreted with an almost geological freedom), a short man with a long head that looked as if it had been compressed at the sides, a square jaw, and narrow, "Chinese" eyes, clambered through dense undergrowth and stood upon the soil of Scotland. He was following, at the respectful distance of some ten thousand years, the northward retreat of the ice of the fourth glacial age. He was also the first man to set the fashion of immigrating into the country which is now called Scotland. But he was ignorant of both of these interesting distinctions.

Before his arrival Scotland's history had been purely vegetable. When the steely embrace of the ice relaxed and the glaciers melted, steppe vegetation came to cover the scarred wastes, and then, as the climate improved, a forest mantle of birches, hazels, and alders was thrown over the whole land even to the outermost isles. Man came to Scotland when this first forest age was drawing to its close, when wetter, colder weather was creating the great bogs of peat and

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moss that drowned the trees, rotting their fibres with humic acid. But a second spell of warmth and sun followed, during which the trees—Scots firs this time—climbed the mountain sides to a height of three thousand feet. Probably at this time the early inhabitants of Scotland were favoured with a slightly pleasanter climate than that to which their latest descendants—if we are indeed their descendants—are accustomed.

What was the outward aspect of this virgin Scotland ?

A great forest clad more than half of its surface ; the land was thirty to sixty feet lower than it is to-day, so that the estuaries of Forth, Clyde, and Tay, and also the Moray Firth, bit more deeply into the land ; in the woods were elk, a very large red deer, wild boar, brown bears, northern lynx, beavers and wolves ; in the grassy glades were reindeer, a giant fallow deer, wild horses, and the great aurochs, or wild ox ; in the seas, finner whales, walruses, and seals in plenty. It was a good country for a keen hunter like the first Scotsman who hunted deer and wild boar in the forests and dug canoes out of pine-trunks to pursue whales and seals on the coastal waters.

And so we must imagine Scotland for about seven thousand years. The land slowly heaved itself up out of the sea ; the forest suffered from man's need for shelter and firewood, and from the corroding bogs ; in the woods, the tufted ears of the ferocious northern lynx were after a time no longer seen ; man, in his caves and wattle-huts in the forest glades and on the coastal strip, began to make pets of some of the animals he encountered and, having tamed them, found them useful ; probably the sheep, which he seems to have brought with him from the continent, was the first domestic animal ; the swine, a tamed and

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degenerate descendant of the mighty wild boar of the wood, followed, and then the goat, the dog, and the horse.

During this immense period, which began in the dawn of the Neolithic age and terminated about the time when the Pyramids were being built in Egypt, an important original strain was furnished to the Scottish race-stock by nameless peoples, whose domestic animals contributed qualities to the still distinctive Scottish breeds of sheep and cattle.

Life in this neolithic paradise was disturbed about 3000 B.C. by the arrival in Scotland of invaders bearing the culture of the Bronze Age. The first men had come by way of the land-bridge which in their time joined the British peninsula to the continent. But now the sea made things more difficult. Scotland was now half an island; to get into it you had either to trek north through England or cruise along its coasts, to reach Ireland and make it a base for descents upon the West coast, or to strike out hazardingly across the North Sea and make a landing direct. Probably all of these routes were used by the prehistoric invaders of Scotland.

The first of them may have been allied racially to the neolithic hunters whom they found there; they certainly bore a physical resemblance to them, being rather small, with long heads (when looked at from above), and dark hair. But they were at a much higher level of civilisation, having learnt to make tools and weapons out of bronze. They came from North Africa and had settled in Spain, Western France, Ireland, and England, before they reached Scotland. They buried their dead in the mounds called long barrows, which in the North of Scotland developed into peculiar "horned" cairns, in plan

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roughly like the leopard-skin rugs that are sometimes seen in drawing-rooms. Their speech belonged, in all likelihood, to the Hamitic group of languages of which ancient Egyptian and modern Berber are members.

These Iberians, as they are called, were sun-worshippers who erected elaborate monuments of huge, roughly-hewn stones, the most imposing examples of which in Britain (Stonehenge and Avebury apart) are to be found in Orkney and Lewis. This people and their widespread culture (for Scotland was only the farthest stretch to the west and north of an influence which reached as far east as India) are an important element in the formation of the early Scotland. But they are not, by any means, the only ingredient in the racial pudding.

About the time that the Iberians were filtering northward into the Scottish forests another people migrated from the lower Rhine area to the region round the mouth of the Elbe. From here, about 2000 B.C., they set sail across the North Sea and landed on the East coast of Scotland. They were a stalwart people, below the normal height of modern Scotsmen, with broad skulls and marked eye-ridges; they seem to have buried their dead in round barrows; from the peculiarly shaped beaker pots which they took with them wherever they went, they are called the Beaker people. They have left their broad heads as an heirloom to the inhabitants of Aberdeenshire.

There is also evidence that at this time a sea-faring race of dark broadheads to whom anthropologists have given the name "Prospectors" came to Scotland from the Mediterranean, probably in search of gold and copper and the pearls which were to be found in certain of the rivers. Some authorities think that

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these Prospectors were especially associated with the megalithic monuments.

Another brief millennium passes over the dark northern forests. Scotland is now in communication with the peoples of the Mediterranean, whose traders visit her shores to buy the crude ores of her mines, her gold, her pearls ; a gold trade-route from Ireland to the Baltic crosses from Galloway to the Forth, supplying merchants who are possibly selling again to the Egyptians ; the soil is now tilled, and terraces are being constructed here and there on the hill-sides to increase the area under crops ; a system of trackways links the various settlements. Scotland in the Bronze Age is not the home of a savage people.

But so far no language and no people that is destined to play an identifiable part in the historical Scotland has made its appearance. Before the Bronze Age was ended, however, a new race came upon the scene—it was, perhaps, 900 B.C. They belonged to the Nordic group of European peoples, from which four-fifths of the heroes of novels are descended. They were tall and fair and long-headed, and they spoke an Aryan tongue which, after undergoing some admixture of the Berber-like speech of the Iberians whom they conquered, or pushed into the more unpopular parts of the country, developed into old Gaelic. These invaders were Goidelic Celts who had migrated westward from the Alpine region about three hundred years earlier and poured into France and Britain.

It seems likely that about the time they left their Alpine home another Celtic group moved into South Russia where they learnt how to smelt iron and, when driven west once more by the Scythians, descended with fire and sword—iron swords—upon the Swiss lake-villages. Some four hundred years after the

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Goidels—or Gaels—entered Scotland these new Celts established themselves all over South Britain and even as far north as the line between the Forth and Clyde estuaries. They were called the Cymry and were the ancient Britons whose woad charmed our schooldays. They spoke their Celtic tongue with a difference, having acquired—on the Danube, some say—an affectation for replacing the consonantal sound Qu by P, an odd innovation which seems to hint at close contact or intermixture with a people of alien speech. The language of the Q-speaking Celts survives to-day in Gaelic, that of the P-speakers in modern Welsh, in which, for example, “mac” becomes “map” or “ap”.

Of these last two immigrations the first was the more important to Scotland (as the second was to England). It brought with it what was to be the speech of the most important section of the people during the first thousand years of the historical period ; it brought the seeds of the social and religious structure that became the nucleus of the earliest of the kingdoms.

Everything indicates that the late Bronze Age and the Iron Age in Scotland were a time of fierce strife between diverse tribes and peoples. Villages were built upon islands in the lakes, upon artificial islands (*crannogs*) if there was nothing better, constructed upon weighted rafts sunk to the bottom and fastened there with piles ; hill-tops were encircled with earthworks and walls of stone ; stronger forts were devised out of stones that had been fused into a solid mass by brushwood fires kindled round them ; trenches were dug in the earth and roofed with slabs to form the inconspicuous dwellings (*earthhouses*) of people who dreaded attack.

The powerful impression of conflict and confusion

BEYOND THE WALL

created by the rich remains that prehistory has left in Scotland invites the suspicion that our racial background may be even more complex than it now appears. Anthropological research tends to deepen this suspicion, for it has been found that that part of Scotland where the colour of hair is darkest—Skye and Lorn—is precisely that where the inhabitants are tallest, a piece of information which, whatever else it may do, at least destroys the simple old view of a small dark and a tall fair people who mingled to compose the pre-Teutonic population of Scotland.

The North and West, where relics are most profusely scattered, must have been more attractive to man than it is to-day : before the woods died or were killed, the streams were less torrential and the soil lay more thickly upon the rocks.

The existence of a series of peculiar buildings, found in Scotland and nowhere else in the world, helps to strengthen the view that in the dawn of history this north-west outpost of Europe was a refuge for harassed races or, perhaps, the scene of the activities of bold races. These buildings, in number almost five hundred, are nearly all found in the Western Islands and on the west coast. They are round, dry-stone towers with a small entrance leading into a roofless circular space ; within the thickness of the walls are living chambers. These are the *brochs*. Inhabited by a maritime people dependent for a livelihood either on fishing or on piracy, and apparently dwelling apart from the ordinary tillers of the soil as a distinct and superior caste, the *brochs* seem to have spread from the outer isles east and north on the mainland ; their forgotten owners may have come from Ireland. The *brochs* are unique. The nearest things to them are the towers found in Sardinia called “*nuraghi*”.

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Rumours reached the log cabins in the clearings and on the lakes; then came news. The Romans were coming! Three or four hundred years had passed since the arrival of the Cymric invaders when, in the year 80 A.D., the first files of the legionaries clanked down the northward slopes of the Cheviots into Teviotdale.

Rome in Scotland—it is a story that belongs to the chronicles of Rome's frontier campaigning rather than to the history of Scotland. The Empire brought its novel war machine and left two awe-inspiring specimens of military engineering and the memory of several punitive expeditions. Nothing more. That the Wall, the symbol of exclusion, should be Rome's chief relic in Scotland is in itself a measure of the nature and extent of Roman influence.

Yet, in a negative way, Rome did something. It made a division between the inhabitants of South Britain, with their five centuries as provincials of the Empire, and the peoples beyond that North-West Frontier who knew the Roman swords but not the Roman civilisation. And Rome set the Wall to mark the dividing line.

The first written account of Scotland has come to us from Roman authors. Fitful though the light is that they give us, some facts emerge fairly clearly in it. The people of Scotland were divided into several main tribal confederacies whose ways of life were those of the Celtic people of Gaul and South Britain. The most vigorous and thoroughly welded of these tribal associations was one whose home was in the Central Highlands and whose members were named Caledonians. Tall muscular fellows with red hair and blue eyes were the fighting men of the Caledonians; they used war-chariots like the Gauls and the South

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Britons and threw off their cloaks to fight, displaying bodies painted with designs in brilliant colours. Though one Roman writer thought they might be Teutons their speech and customs were Gaelic. North of the Forth and Clyde these Caledonians exercised a moral leadership, so that the name Caledonia was given by the Romans to the whole country.

Though agriculture was practised with the aid of a rude wooden plough, stock-raising was then the main occupation of the people living in Scotland; there were little horses—mere ponies—small, black, short-horn cattle, and tawny sheep of two distinct breeds. Coarse woollen cloth was woven.

Gnaeus Julius Agricola, the Governor of Britain, was the first Roman general to lead troops into Scotland. In 80 A.D., after building a fort at Trimontium (Newstead) on the Tweed, he advanced to the Forth and Clyde and erected nineteen forts in a line between sea and sea. Then he pushed on into Perthshire. In 84 came the great trial of strength between the legions and the Caledonian confederacy, which removed its women and children to a place of safety and gave battle at Mons Graupius, a place of mysterious situation which has excited the speculative frenzy of several generations of Scottish antiquaries. Tacitus tells the story. Agricola was his father-in-law, and full justice is done to his abilities. But into the mouth of the Caledonian leader, Calgacus, is put the crispest and best-remembered *mot* of the historian: "They make a wilderness and call it peace." The barbarians were beaten, partly by the inferiority of their clumsy long swords to the shorter, handier weapons of Agricola's Dutch troops, and made off into the wilds beyond, leaving a trail of blazing villages behind them. So far as the numbers of those engaged were concerned, this

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was probably the greatest battle ever fought upon Scottish soil.

Some years later, however, the Forth and Clyde forts were abandoned and the other line of defence between the Tyne and the Solway, where Agricola had also constructed a line of forts, became the frontier, with Newstead an advanced post.

A great rising in 119 in which tribes to the north and south of this line co-operated led to the destruction of the Ninth Legion. Things were so grave that the Emperor Hadrian himself led a new expedition; its chief result was the building of a new fort and a turf (later stone) wall seventy-three miles long, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to Burgh-by-Sands. Eleven thousand auxiliaries manned this great fortification.

But twenty years later there was more trouble in the North and the governor Lollius Urbicus made an effort to establish the frontier at the Forth-Clyde isthmus by linking Agricola's forts together with the turf-rampant called the Antonine Wall. The next forty years were the only period when the Romans were in Scotland for any length of time.

In 180 the fury of the Caledonians broke out again and poured over the wall into southern Scotland. The tide of war seems to have flowed in favour of the tribesmen this time, seems even to have carried them south of the wall of Hadrian, for in 208 every part of the Empire contributed reinforcements to the army led into Caledonia—probably as far as the Moray Firth—by the gouty Libyan Emperor Severus. This march, which incidentally cost Severus his life, broke the spirit of the northern tribes for a time. Forts were built as far north as the Tay—but a year or two later the frontier was back at the Tyne-Solway line.

It was not a peaceable frontier. There was a

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ferocious vigour and persistency about these peoples of the north which three centuries of warfare against the legions did not exhaust. The tribes were passing into larger associations to which the name of nations can almost be applied. For example, towards the end of the third century, the Caledonians begin to be replaced in Roman records by a people called the Picts, of whom apparently the Caledonians were a section.

The Picts had allies to whom the Roman orator Eumenius referred for the first time in the year 297. These were of the same racial stock as themselves and their home was in North-East Ireland. Curiously enough, they were named the Scots.

In 368 these allies triumphed over the Wall, creating a situation which it strained the resources of the Empire and the military skill of Count Theodosius (father of the first emperor of that name) to put right. As far as the Orkneys the Roman fleet carried retribution. This desperate recovery was the last. In 410 Alaric sacked Rome, and Rome threw up the sponge in Britain. As for Scotland, she was left, untouched by the moulding hand of Rome, to the Picts and to the Scots.

II

KINGS, MONKS AND PIRATES

SCOTLAND is a victory for Celtic civilisation. Though events which came later have operated to conceal this fundamental fact, the truth remains that Scotland came into being as the triumphant reaction of a Gaelic-speaking people against forces which we must now go on to notice. It was, perhaps, the most signal victory won by Celtic culture in Europe after Gaul and Britain fell to the Romans.

Fifty years after the Romans left Britain to look after itself, a Teutonic people named the Angles who lived in Schleswig began to settle on the extreme south-east coast and in the valley of the Tweed, where there was a British population. They were the northernmost wash of a wave of Teutonic invasions that was destined to change the face of England. But Scotland was only affected by them in the east country to the south of the Firth of Forth. In 547 these Angle settlements in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire were welded into a kingdom, Bernicia, under a leader named Ida whose capital was at Bamburgh. A century later, they had expanded north and west and were to be found in Lothian.

Strictly speaking, the English were in Scotland before the Scots. For "Scots" was originally the name applied to those North Irish Goidels who fought alongside the Picts against the legionaries. At the end of the fifth century some of these Scots settled on the coast and islands of Argyllshire. There was nothing very

remarkable about that. The early inhabitants of Caledonia and of Ireland had been in much closer touch with one another than with any other people; they were racially of similar stock, spoke the same language with only dialectal differences, and constituted two varieties of the same culture. The scene of much of the old Gaelic poetry of Ireland is laid in Scotland. It seemed highly probable, therefore, that in time the Scottish incomers, who were few in numbers compared with the Picts, would be absorbed in the Pictish nation and forgotten. The remarkable thing about them is that this did not happen—that, when absorption came, what happened was, in a sense, the opposite.

Scotland was crystallising out, and appeared to be splitting into five main groups. In the south-east were the Angles, spreading along the coastline of the Forth and up the Tweed valley, reaching their greatest extent in the middle of the eighth century when they were settling in Linlithgowshire and in the lower valleys of Peebleshire and Selkirkshire. In this part a Teutonic language was spoken. In the Clyde valley, Brythonic Celts, speaking not Gaelic but a Celtic tongue like Welsh, or perhaps still more like Cornish, formed the British kingdom of Strathclyde. To the west of the river Nith, in mountainous Galloway, was a Pictish people, relic of the Gaels who had been cut off from their fellows by the P-speaking invaders in the fifth century B.C. Here Gaelic was spoken, as, indeed, it was also spoken in the hill-country within the British kingdom. In Argyllshire was the small Scottish kingdom of Dalriada, separated from the Picts by the mountain mass of the western Grampians. Last and easily most important were the Picts, whose polity had grown up into a kingdom with a high-king and seven sub-kings or rulers of provinces. All over the

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north, except in that coastal patch in Argyllshire to which the Scots clung, the Pictish kingdom extended ; south of the Forth, there were Picts in Stirlingshire. It was in this region that they met the Strathclyde Welsh and Bernician Angles, and here, until the advent of a Teutonic speech, Gaelic had been making headway against Welsh, as it had already eliminated all traces of a British speech from the lowlands to the north of the Forth. The boundaries that are set forth here are not to be thought of in their rigid modern sense ; they were fluid, fluctuating, approximate things, in which race and rule might be at variance.

Into this troubled Scotland of the Pentarchy, torn up into scraps thrown down for fate to piece together, a new thing came. A small boat appeared off the island of Hy or Iona, and a man stepped ashore and made the sign of the cross. His name was Columba or Columcille and he came of the royal line of the Scots of Ireland. Twelve companions were with him.

Nominally at least, the Scottish "squatters" in Argyllshire were already Christians, and, once before, Scotland had been the scene of a Christian mission. During the last half-century of Roman rule in Britain, one Ninian, a man of rank in Romano-British society and a Christian, who had lived in Rome and been consecrated a bishop there, returned to his native province. He made his way north of the Wall and began to preach the gospel among the Pictish people in Galloway. There about 397, he built a church of white stone ("Candida Casa") at Whithorn on the Solway and dedicated it to St. Martin of Tours. Converts were made and the reputation of the church spread to Ireland where it was known as the "Great Monastery," but the Christian community in Galloway did not survive Ninian's death by a century,

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although the tradition of it lived on, to reach the ears of Bede.

About the time that Columba's work on Iona began, another missionary of British race named Mungo or Kentigern was carrying the Gospel to the Strathclyde Welsh. But his labours were interrupted by desperate wars with the Picts and when he died his mission died with him.

It is to Columba, the Soldier of Christ, and to that day in 563 when he founded his monastery on the three-miles by one-and-a-half of poor soil which is Iona that we must look for the beginning of Christianity in Scotland. At that time Columba was forty-two years of age, vigorous, devout, fiery-tempered and a keen politician. (An unhappy combination of these last two qualities is the likeliest explanation of his departure from Ireland.) His monastery consisted of huts made of wood and clay, roofed with reeds, one for each of the monks, a guest house, a granary, a refectory, and a small wooden oratory; it was surrounded by an earthen rampart. Gradually the "family of Iona", as Columba called his followers, grew until it numbered a hundred and fifty, divided into the three grades of novices, workers, and seniors or monks. Over all was the Abbot himself, to whom even bishops took a secondary place, although the episcopal function of conferring ordination was recognised. Soon the white tunics and hooded woollen cloaks of the Scottish monks became an increasingly familiar sight on the mountain paths and in the lake and clearing villages of Pictland. Columba himself blazed the missionary trail when, two years after he landed on Iona, he visited Brude, King of the Picts, in his stockaded hall at Inverness and impressed him with the superiority of Christian wonder-working

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to the facile magic of the Druids. Again and again he repeated expeditions of preaching and teaching among the Celtic heathen of the north.

But amid all this missionary fervour he did not lose his old penchant for politics, and, as he happened to be a man of genius, his intervention in the statesmanship of early Scotland is of the highest importance. He found the Scottish settlement of Dalriada defeated, dejected, and only preserved from complete extinction by the material difficulties of carrying on a campaign beyond the mountain-barrier of the western Highlands. He altered the succession of their kings to place on the throne an able young man of his own choice, Aidan ; secured recognition of the independence of those Argyllshire Scots from the parent community in Ulster ; and left Dalriada strong enough to outlive one disastrous defeat and to play a part in the making of Scotland out of all proportion to its size.

This busy, genial, courageous and passionate Irishman, who “ never could spend the space of even one hour without study, or prayer, or writing or some other holy occupation ”, is the first great man in Scottish history. But Scotland was for him only “ the land of ravens ” ; in Ireland was his heart : “ Oh, Aran, my sun, my love is in the West with thee.”

In the year of his death (597), Augustine arrived in Kent, bringing the news of Christ to an England which its Teuton invaders had made pagan once more. But the lands of the Picts and the Scots were already studded with the small thatched churches of hewn logs and the monasteries of Columba’s church, the supreme government of which was vested in the Abbot of Iona. The chief settlement that the white-clad monks made among the Picts was that at

Abernethy. During this period Pictland's centre of gravity was moving southward, as the areas in the south where Picts and British were mingled became more conscious of their identity with the purer Picts to the north.

Of the four main divisions of peoples in Scotland at the end of the sixth century, two, the Strathclyde Welsh and the Angles, were linked with nations in England. From the Clyde to the Bristol Channel, the West of Britain was occupied by petty principalities and kingdoms of the British. Of these Strathclyde was the most northerly. Two events destroyed this unity. The first was a victory of the Strathclyde people over the Picts, followed by the transfer of their capital from the south to the north of the Solway, from Carlisle to Alclydd, or Dumbarton. The second was a victory of the Angles under Aethelfrith at Chester which drove a wedge of Teutons between the Britons of Wales and those of Strathclyde and Cumbria. As this same Angle king had shortly before inflicted a smashing defeat on the Dalriad Scots and had united his kingdom with that of Deira, a Teutonic state between the Humber and the Tees, it looked as if the new kingdom, Northumbria, would turn the whole island of Britain north of the Humber into an Angle dominion.

But things fell out otherwise. Northumbria was weakened by dynastic wars and wars against combinations of her southern neighbours; over the Picts and Strathclyde she established only a shadowy and intermittent ascendancy; the Scots were soundly beaten and fell for a time under the domination of their neighbours the Picts and the Britons. Northumbrian ambitions in the north came to an abrupt end in the year 685 when King Ecgfrith led an

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army far into Pictish territory and was defeated and slain with all but a few of his host at Nechtansmere beyond the Sidlaw Hills.

The Celtic north had in the meantime brought Christianity to the Angles. At the invitation of King Oswald, who had been baptised while in exile among the Scots, the monk Aidan was dispatched by the Council of Seniors at Iona to enlighten the darkness of the Angle. He adopted the tactics of Columba, making his base at a monastery on an island—in this case, Lindisfarne—within easy reach of the coast. He and his two successors, both of whom were appointed by the Council at Iona, were eager and untiring missionaries, and soon all over Northumbria rose the wooden churches of the Celtic monks. It was from this mission to Northumbria that Lothian received Christianity. One morning an Angle shepherd boy named Cuthbert rode up to the monastery which Aidan had built at Old Melrose on the Tweed. Later he became the fearless evangelist of the people living in the rude hill-country of the Lammermuirs.

A quarrel about dates and about the way men cut their hair is one of the crucial events in the story of Christianity in the north.

When the Scots had established the Christian religion in Northumbria, the conversion of England was complete. For, in the southern kingdoms of the English, missionaries of the Latin church had been busy ever since the days of Augustine. Now, when Celtic monks and Roman priests had met, it became apparent that there were certain inconvenient divergencies between them. This is not to say that they were not at one in doctrine or that the Scots failed to recognise the headship of the Pope. But the Roman

“coronal” tonsure differed from that in vogue among the Scots, who shaved off all the hair in front of a line from ear to ear—possibly a relic of Druidism. There was also a difference in the date of Easter which depends upon the relation of the lunar month Nisan to the solar year. Rome, after trifling with several systems of calculation, finally came down in favour of a nineteen years’ cycle; the Scots stuck to the eighty-four years’ cycle which Rome had given up in 343.

A synod met at Whitby in 664 at which the Northumbrian King Oswiu, impressed by the admission of the Scottish bishop, Colman, that the keys of heaven had been given to St. Peter, decided in favour of Rome, “lest, when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them”. Most of the Scottish monks left Northumbria, a notable exception being the gentle and devoted Cuthbert, who remained to carry on his work and to utter an unheeded warning against the rashness that ended in Nechtansmere. Forty years later, the Roman usages respecting Easter and tonsure were adopted in Pictland. In the meantime, Lothian came under Rome, and missionary work was carried on by the Romanised church of Northumbria in Galloway, where Candida Casa was re-erected into a bishopric subject to York.

Behind this dispute about trifles lay something which was by no means trifling, the question : To which shall we belong, to the great church of the west, or to a church which however brightly the lamp of its spirit may burn, is after all that of some poor islands on the fringe of Christendom ? Obviously not only religious considerations were involved. To be part of Europe or cut off from Europe ? So the question might have

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posed itself to those early kings and their advisers. But even on ecclesiastical grounds, the advantages of adherence to the Latin church were immense. The Scottish Church was purely monastic : as an institution it could only have the most limited influence upon laymen ; it depended solely upon the zeal and proselytising ability of individual monks. It might bring sheep into the fold therefore, but it did not have such a clear idea of what to do with them when they were there as the Latins had ; a fall in the standard of its personnel would have much more disastrous results than in that complex organism, fashioned by generations of ecclesiastical statesmen brought up in an imperial tradition, the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, the small monastic community of the Celts was the natural corollary of the tribal unit ; it was ill-adapted to the kingdom.

At the end of the eighth century (794) the first of the beaked galleys of the Norsemen appeared off the western coast of Scotland ; a year earlier, they had ravaged Northumbria. In 802 and again in 806 they burned the monastery on Iona. The remains of Columba were removed by pious hands to Ireland and the monastery at Kells became the centre of the Columban order. At the same time, the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland was moved from Iona to Dunkeld. Yet once more some faithful monks returned and built a church of stone for the relics of their saint ; and once more the Norsemen came and in blood extinguished the light of Iona.

The Scandinavian pirates laid hands upon some of the western isles, upon the Shetlands and the Orkneys ; later, they were to grasp still more, to threaten Scotland with a Norse dominion ; in the meantime, their longships cut off Scotland from Ireland, and put

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an end to a communication which through long centuries had been of the first importance to the former land. Upon Picts, Scots, Angles, and Britons, summer after summer, the raids of the Vikings beat pitilessly. For half a century there was confusion, in which kingdoms scrupled not to attack one another in their weakness, in which broken men joined the shield-wall of the fair, terrible raiders. And out of this confusion a strange thing came.

One summer the Vikings struck deeper—struck into the very heart of south Pictland, defeated a defending army and slew the Pictish king. A few years later Kenneth Macalpine, of the royal house of the Scots, had become king of both Picts and Scots. As, during sixty years, the Scots had been subordinated to the Pictish king, this event seems to demand a fuller explanation. Passing over a pretty little invention according to which Pictish chiefs were invited to dinner by the Scots and murdered as they lay on the floor, helpless with wine, we may note that among the Picts succession was through the mother; there are signs too, of an electoral kingship which probably had different meanings as the power of the seven sub-kings waxed or waned. The first of these facts had already given Pictland one indubitable Angle king; British names are also found among the long lists of its monarchs. The second might well bring about the accession of a skilful soldier in a time of gravest stress. Kenneth was, possibly, a Pict on his mother's side; he was a determined warrior with, maybe, adventurers of mixed Norse and Gaelic blood among his followers. We may note that, though of a smaller, subdued people, his accession was not so extraordinary a thing in his time as it seems to us; we cannot, however, pretend to understand fully events where history has

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left the materials not for narrative but only for speculation.

Kenneth Macalpine in the year 844 became king of the Picts and the Scots and made his capital at Forteviot on the Earn. There was a united kingdom north of the line where Agricola built his forts eight hundred years before. Of that, at least, we are certain.

III

THE TRIUMPH OF THE CELTIC KINGDOM

THERE was still no such place as Scotland, however. Or, rather, "Scotia" was the literary Latin name still given to Ireland, which in the usage of its people was "Eire". Kenneth's kingdom was called by his subjects "Alba" or "Albyn" (a name probably much older than the Celtic invasions), in Latin, "Albania"—of all things! During the century and a half that follow, we find the Latin "Scotia" becoming more and more associated with the Picto-Scottish kingdom. Albyn remained the popular Gaelic name; "Scotland" came later when the heart of the kingdom lay among an English-speaking population.

The transference of the name "Scotia" from Ireland to Scotland was not accomplished without confusion and irritation: the confusion exemplified by the doubt that still exists as to whether the philosopher Duns Scotus was a Scot or an Irishman (the latter the likelier), and the irritation displayed by Irish monks who found themselves ousted from the possession of rich Continental monasteries by Scotsmen who pointed triumphantly to the name "Scoti" in the Latin of the original grant.

The trend of the politics of the next hundred and fifty years can be briefly stated: The Norse settlements grow in North and West, while their raids on the kingdom do not abate; during the same time, Albyn displays remarkable expansive vigour which no set-back can discourage; in the end a Scottish kingdom has its

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southern bounds on the Tweed and in Westmorland; and the outposts of a Norwegian empire stand in Sutherland and beyond the heads of all the western lochs.

When Kenneth made his capital at Forteviot it was not only a sign that his southern lands had become the more important; it also meant that he was the leader of an aggressive frontier warfare; his headquarters must be near the front. Six times Kenneth invaded Lothian. For Albyn had its eye on the fertile lands beyond the Forth; would even try a fall with Northumbria. Nor was this confident temper of the Gaelic civilisation confined to politics and conquest.

One innovation of the new king was a victory for Scottish influence in the joint kingdom. Kenneth altered the succession law of the Picts in favour of the Scottish plan whereby the king's eldest male relative was appointed his heir or tanist.

At the end of the ninth century, Harold the Fair-haired, king of Norway made sure of the Viking settlements that he found in Scotland; the Orkneys and Shetlands, the Hebrides and Caithness all became tribute-paying parts of his realm, under Jarls whom he appointed to rule them. All over Scotland there was fighting; we hear of battles at Dollar, in what is now Clackmannan, but was then part of a district called Fortrenn; at Forgan in Fife, at Dunnottar in Kincardineshire. Albyn was beleaguered, but still formidable and unconquered. England, conquered once, grew to new strength under Alfred, and under Aethelstan became a menace to Scot and Norseman alike. At Brunanburgh in Dumfriesshire an English army met a host of allied Scots, Strathclyde Britons, Norsemen from Scandinavian Ireland, and English arrows, so often to shatter Scottish dreams of glory, won the day.

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Seven years later (944), another English king, Edmund, found it advisable to attract Albyn from the Norse alliance by the offer of the overlordship of Strathclyde, now sunk to a state of dependence upon whichever of its neighbours happened to be strongest. Strathclyde—beginning to be called Cumbria—was not Edmund's to give away; the gift was in some sense a mere recognition of the accomplished fact of an influx of Picts and Scots into the lands of the British, in which, for twenty years past, relatives of the king of Albyn had ruled. It is open to doubt, too, whether Cumbria, or only that part of it near the Solway, was the subject of the transaction. The Cumbrian British were certainly to be found fighting against a Scots king at a later date.

Lothian was the main prize that the southward-looking kings of Albyn coveted. Here military ambitions seem to have been shaped by drift of population. Throughout this period Scotland south of the Forth was a patchwork of races and settlements—a patchwork in which immigrants from Albyn were bulking ever larger at the expense of the British inhabitants. More and more Gaelic was to be heard in the hamlets between Stirling and Edinburgh. At some time between 954 and 962 the forward military policy of the Scots registered an important gain: Edinburgh, an ancient fortress of the Britons whose name owes nothing to any Angle king named Edwin, fell to Albyn. While this superb natural stronghold was held, the reduction of the rest of Lothian could be only a question of time.

When Malcolm II came to the throne in 1005, the culmination of all this ceaseless outward urge of the Celts was at hand. But first there was an item on the debit side of the balance. For, as Albyn pressed

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southward, its grip on its northern provinces slackened. Already the Norwegians held the West Coast, with Caithness and Sutherland ; and the Pictish Mormaers (as the sub-kings now were called) of the north were becoming more independent of their sovereign as his energies were taken up with his wars in the South. Probably the king was shrewd enough to see that the Norwegians might prove useful in diverting the attention of his over-strong subjects from internal politics. At any rate, Malcolm gave one of his daughters in marriage to Sigurd the Stout, Jarl of Orkney and master of the north of Scotland. When Sigurd fell in battle against the Irish, Malcolm conferred Caithness and Sutherland on his son, and Malcolm's grandson, Thorfinn.

The luck was with the king of Albyn. In 1014 the battle of Clontarf was fought. Danes and Norwegians in Ireland were routed by an Irish army in which Scottish warriors fought by the side of their fellow-Celts. After this, though broken men of the mixed Norwegian-Celtic breed might—and did—take refuge in Galloway, the raids of the Vikings would be neither as dangerous nor as frequent. Malcolm's star was in the ascendant : indeed, four years later it had become a comet—a comet which appeared for thirty consecutive days to the people of Northumbria and warned them that some terrible disaster was at hand. It was in that year, 1018, Malcolm and the Scots, with Owen, King of Cumbria, met the men of Northumbria, under their earl, Adulf Cudel, at Carham on the Tweed. One of the two crucial battles in Scottish history was fought, and won by the Scots. The entire manhood of Northumbria was wiped out, according to the pardonable exaggeration of a Teutonic chronicle ; the Bishop of Lindisfarne died of grief on hearing the tidings.

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Lothian to the Tweed was ceded to the Scots. There, from Haddington to Berwick, English and English law prevailed, protected by the treaty of cession. The battle of Carham is not only the triumphant close of Celtic expansion ; it is also the strange beginning of the retreat of Celtic culture in Scotland.

A year after Carham, the Cumbrian king died and Malcolm appointed his grandson guardian of the province, which from now onwards is part of the possessions of the Scottish crown.

At this time, then, Scotland had come to look on the map approximately as it looks to-day. But there were two exceptions : the borders of the Cumbrian province included Cumberland, Norway had the Islands—Innisgall (“ Islands of the Strangers ”), as the Scots called them, Nordreys and Sudreys in their Norse style,—all the north to Dornoch Firth, and a strip of the West Coast reaching to the Clyde.

But the people—and the language ? Important to have a bird’s eye view of these at this time, since after it no race movement in the old, sweeping manner will touch Scotland. The core of the kingdom, the ancient lands of the Picts, remains racially unchanged ; to the North of this the Norwegians are the dominant race in Orkney and Shetland ; in Caithness and Sutherland their settlements are confined to the coast ; all the land over 500 feet above the sea is in the hands of the aboriginal people ; in the west and among the western islands Scandinavians and Celts are fusing into a new and vigorous race of half-breeds. Dalriada, the old Scottish territory, has now passed entirely into the possession of the Norse invaders ; the presumption is strong, then, that the continuity of the central, Pictish tradition is preserved in the kingdom of Albyn. South of the Forth and Clyde isthmus, there is a fine

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confusion of races and speeches. Yet here the Gaels are the pushing, growing, dominating people. They do not affect the solid Angle settlement from Haddington to the Tweed, but they are numerous in the old British lands of Lothian and Peeblesshire, where, however, the Angles are still the most important element. In Strathclyde the Scottish ingredient is becoming larger and in Ayrshire it is replacing or assimilating English settlements. In Galloway the stubborn Pictish stock is holding its own and is even making headway against the Angles. But in this part the most notable fact is the large Norwegian immigration (in which there is, perhaps, already a considerable Celtic admixture).

The language-pattern follows closely that of races. Norse is the common speech of the bulk of the inhabitants of the western Islands, of the Caithness and Sutherland coasts, of Orkney and Shetland; it is heard along the western seaboard, in Galloway and Dumfriesshire. But in those latter parts it is on the wane. North of the Forth and Clyde, wherever Norse is not, Gaelic is. South of the dividing line, Gaelic has thrown a noose round the Welsh of the Clyde valley and is pulling it tighter; in Carrick it is spoken. Lothian, too, and the southern uplands are hearing more of it. Only in the south-east corner English stands fast.

The Church in Scotland is still at this time different in organisation from the Latin church. It is still essentially monastic; the country is not parcelled out in dioceses; there are no parishes. Against the marriages of clergymen there is a definite prejudice, but many of them are married, nevertheless, without being thought any the worse of. Church property is already a prize valuable enough for laymen to cast

SCOTLAND

RACES & LANGUAGES IN EARLY XITH CENT.
BURGHES & DIOCESES FOUNDED BY 1214.



SCOTLAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

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covetous eyes on. In the 'Columban monasteries the Abbot was succeeded by his co-arb, a man of his own family; a modification of the practice—with abbatial emoluments as its spur—is now giving the titles and revenues of priors and abbots to men who do not take the priest's vows. The aristocratic, semi-hereditary tone of Scottish clericalism has tended to put the church in the power of the noble and official class. This is an evil which persists after the Latin Church has brought new discipline to the spirituality.

Meanwhile the bishop's power is growing at the expense of the abbot's. The ecclesiastical capital, first removed from Iona to Dunkeld, and later to Abernethy, is transferred after 906 to St. Andrews, whither in the eighth century Acca, bishop of Hexham, had brought relics of St. Andrew the Apostle. A special feeling of veneration for this saint is growing up in Albyn, replacing the cult of St. Columba. The bishop of St. Andrews is also Bishop of Albyn.

Ecclesiastically, Scotland's boundaries were not those of to-day. Galloway, under the re-erected bishops of Candida Casa, was subject to the see of York; the English bishops of Lindisfarne appear to have exercised episcopal authority over the English south of the Forth. In the North and Western Islands Christianity had been drowned in the waves of Viking paganism. There Odin and Freya were worshipped. When, thirteen years before Carham, the Jarl of Orkney, following the example of his royal master of Norway, became a Christian, it was to the Archbishop of Hamburg that his Orcadians sent for evangelists; later, all the Norwegian possessions in Scotland came under the jurisdiction of the see of Trondhjem.

But what does it look like at this time, the country which is the scene of these happenings?

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We have to think once more of forests—of forests not now so great as when the Romans fought their way through the trees, but still extensive, perhaps seven times as great as to-day. There are stretches where the axes have been busy, especially in the more fertile land between the Forth and the Tweed, but even in Caithness and Skye, where to-day a tree is almost a curiosity, there are woods big enough to house dangerous animals. As for animals, there are still members of noble breeds, now lost to Scotland, to be encountered in the vast uncultivated tracts of wood and moorland. The brown bears that used to be trapped and sent to Rome for the public pleasure and the torture of criminals have grown scarce, it is true, and the superb elk with his six foot span of antlers is seldom heard crashing through the branches, but the aurochs still roams in the Highlands, the red deer (a taller and more virile edition of his twentieth century descendant) is found in great herds both south and north of the Forth, and further north there are reindeer. Wolves, wild boars, and wild horses live on and will do so for many a year. The Norwegians, who found the small Celtic horse and the smaller Shetland pony when they landed, imported their own sturdy dun horses, whose blood still runs in the veins of the Highland "garron".

Villages, whether on lake or land, were still groups of thatched cabins, built of roughly squared logs, replaced in treeless districts by clay on a wooden frame; the residences of kings and nobles were also of wood, within a stockade and possessing a hall varying in size with the wealth or importance of the owner. The log-churches of Columba's time were now being replaced by small stone oratories without pretensions to architectural style. Two at least of these, at Brechin and Abernethy, were furnished with tall round

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towers, probably designed for the defence of the monks in times of invasion.

These were the homes and churches of the men with the long, braided hair, who in closely-fitting breeches, light, belted jackets and loose woollen plaids farmed the lands of Scotland, watched its flocks, or with their round leather shields and spears and blunt broad-bladed swords fought its battles. Oats, barley, and rye were their chief crops, harvested from fields that were divided among the community in small strips, for which each man drew lots. Oxen, not horses, drew the plough. Sheep were one of the main sources of the kingdom's wealth—sheep and their wool, the weaving of which was already becoming an industry in some of the villages.

In Albyn, the provincial kings have lost the name of king, but as "mormaers", or royal officials appointed to rule over a province they retain a great deal of their old authority and in the north, as we have seen, they are practically independent. There seem to have been seven of these mormaers and seven Pictish provinces, Atholl, Argyll, Strathearn and Menteith, Fife and Gowrie, Angus and the Mearns, Buchan and Mar, Moray and Ross. This number seven, which probably originated in the number of tribes composing the first Pictish confederation, seems later to have become a constant. Through all the early territorial changes of the Scottish kingdom, the seven mormaers (afterwards seven earls) remain, a somewhat mysterious body whose only known function was that of conducting the king to the coronation stone at Scone but who may have acted as a king's council of some kind. Several tribes or *tuaths* went to make up each province and over each of them was an official called the *toiseach*.

Though there was no literature in this Scotland,

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and, indeed, no reading or writing outside the monasteries, the age was one of the great periods of Scottish art. It was the age of exquisite illuminated manuscripts like the Book of Deer, of magnificent and elaborate craftsmanship in metal as exemplified in, say, the Hunterston Brooch and the Crozier of St. Fillan, and, above all, of the sculptured stones in which the Celtic artist, passing beyond ornament to a stylised, imaginative and profoundly original carving of natural objects, challenged the work of his pagan ancestors and surpassed it. In all of this work a distinct Scottish style in the arts, owing much to Norse and Irish, but differing from either, expressed itself with a triumphant assurance and success.

IV

A FEUDAL REVOLUTION

CARHAM witnessed the triumph of a kingdom Celtic in structure and Gaelic in speech over a territory approximating to modern Scotland. Less than three centuries later, Gaelic was in full retreat before English, the organisation of the Latin church had almost entirely ousted the old usages of ecclesiastical Albyn, and a feudal structure, imported from England, had been superimposed upon society; English and then Norman laws and judicial institutions took the place of the old Scottish customary law. This revolution was accompanied not by a large-scale displacement of the old population but rather by small but important, because deliberate, additions to it.

We are to see a Gaelic people gradually acquiring a new language, adapting itself to alien customs and to novel foreign institutions, yet, since such things are not altered by policies, remaining in temper and character fundamentally Celtic. Undisturbed by surface changes the Scottish spirit lives on, corresponding to some radical twist of the soul. It speaks more English and less Gaelic, it defends itself with the feudal array and not with the Celtic hosting; it is strong enough to attach to itself the people of conquered Lothian who never spoke anything but English.

This age saw also the loosening of Norway's grip on the Scottish mainland and the rise of turbulent chiefs of mixed blood who gave a shadowy allegiance to any king. Finally, after long and doubtful wars,

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Norway let slip those distant, troublesome possessions, Orkney and Shetland excepted, and the fealty of the chiefs, for what it was worth, was owed to the kings of Scots.

It is often assumed that only a kind of divine miracle (or unhappy freak of chance) prevented Scotland being absorbed at an early date in her larger neighbour to the south. It is useful to remember, therefore, that more than once during the three centuries after Carham, there was a sporting chance that the southern frontier of Scotland would be at the Humber and not at the Tweed.

Malcolm, the victor of Carham and the first "King of Scotia," left his realm to his young grandson Duncan. We are now on "a blasted heath," familiar ground to us all. We are, in other words, in the time over which—over a garbled account of which—Shakespeare has thrown a mantle of immortal verse, the time of Macbeth. Macbeth, son of the Mormaer of Moray, seems to have had by the old Scottish custom of alternate succession, a better right to the throne than Duncan. He apparently allied himself with Thorfinn, Jarl of Orkney, Malcolm's tall, black-haired Viking grandson, who defeated Duncan at Torfness (Burghead) on the Moray Firth, but left him to be slain by Macbeth, how we know not. Macbeth ruled vigorously and well for seventeen years, was liberal to the church and popular with his Scottish subjects. Duncan's son Malcolm, even with help from Danish Northumbria, did not win back his father's throne without heavy fighting. When Macbeth was killed his party was still strong enough to have his stepson Lulach enthroned at Scone. And Lulach, too, must be fought and killed before Malcolm could call his throne his own.

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Malcolm III, or Canmore, is one of those men who are important less for what they do than for whom they marry. He was a self-made king, a sturdy, unlettered soldier who had gained from exile at Edward the Confessor's court little more than a readiness to respect people who were cleverer and better educated than himself. He married a woman who gave him full opportunity to exercise this faculty. In the years that immediately followed the Norman Conquest of England, Lothian and other parts of Southern Scotland must have looked rather like a refugee camp: Danish and Saxon *émigrés* poured up from the South to escape the Normans, and, incidentally, to strengthen the English-speaking element in the land that gave them asylum.

Among the refugees were Edgar the Atheling, heir to the crown that the Conqueror had snatched, his mother, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. These distinguished guests were entertained at Malcolm's castle among the woods of Dunfermline. Two years later, Malcolm married the Princess Margaret, a strong-minded, devout woman who found much to displease her in Scotland and, in her husband's wondering adoration, the means to re-shape it to her will. Malcolm probably saw nothing more in the marriage—love for the woman apart—than its diplomatic value in the difficult and dangerous situation which the invasion of the Normans had created: his children would have a claim to the English throne.

Queen Margaret quarrelled with the Scottish clergy because they celebrated mass in Gaelic and not in Latin, permitted marriages within the forbidden degrees, failed to receive the sacrament on Easter Day, cut short the observance of Lent by four days, and because—which sounds strange to those who have experienced

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the ferocious Sabbatarianism of modern Scotland—the Lord's Day was not observed. She obtained a promise from the Celtic clergy that all this would be changed, and to guarantee the permanence of her reforms, introduced English priests and canons and endowed a church at Dunfermline for the Benedictines. The complexion of the Scottish Church was not altered at a stroke, but from now on the patronised and growing part of it was Latin in organisation and (increasingly) English in speech. The old log churches and dry-stone oratories of the Celts began to be replaced by the dignified Norman architecture; in these new churches was found a more elaborate ritual, more richly adorned.

William the Conqueror's brutal ravagings of the north of England and Malcolm's no less brutal raids into the same distracted area had one important effect, that of increasing still more the numbers of English who as guests or slaves lived in Scotland. An English chronicler relates that there was not a Scottish house without its English thrall. These incomers, whatever their station, played a part in the great transformation which was coming over Celtic Scotland and which found its foremost agents at the court, where now both English and Gaelic were heard and the young princes were given English names. Apart from the coming of these new English, Malcolm's expeditions had no important result, except an item on the debit side when William Rufus captured Carlisle, filled it with trustworthy vassals and so deprived Malcolm of all Cumbria to the south of it. On a last angry raid Malcolm and his eldest son were killed. Margaret died in Edinburgh Castle, among the candles and the choristers, when the news reached her. Even before life departed from her body, the

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Celtic reaction was mustering under her castle walls. But it was too late.

Four years of turmoil, with Donald Bane, the dead king's brother, as champion of the old ways and heir by the old law, ended with Edgar, Malcolm's son, and Margaret's, reaching the throne of Scotland with Norman and English aid. Margaret's work would go on.

Edgar inherited his mother's piety without her energy; his devoutness was rather of the cast of his grand-uncle, the Confessor. But his reign is notable for the transference of the capital from Dunfermline to Edinburgh, so that now the head of the Scots stood in the midst of a population which spoke English; it was all the more remote, too, from the Celtic North. Meanwhile the islands of the north and west where the Gall-gael, the wild race sprung from Celtic mothers and Norse fathers, had defied the kings both of Norway and Scotland, were being taught a lesson. Magnus Barefoot, the Norwegian king, established his superiority over the insular princes with fire and sword and compelled mild Edgar to recognise that wherever a helm-bearing ship could pass between an island and the mainland that island was Norway's. The implications of the agreement are more important than its terms for they signify that the fringe of western lochs and glens where the Scandinavians had settled two hundred years earlier could no longer be claimed by Norway. In Caithness Norwegian Jarls remained in practice independent of both kings.

Alexander I succeeded his brother Edgar, but not in all of his possessions and not in any of his mild disposition. In Strathclyde and in part of Lothian, a younger brother, David, ruled as earl of Cumbria. This division may have been due to the difficulty of governing the

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whole of Scotia from a single centre, or to the need of preventing war between rival brothers, or, finally, to the doubtful title of the Scots kings to Lothian.

Alexander employed Norman cavalry to give stiffening to his army and brought more English clerics into his churches; the chief men at his court, however, were still the great Celtic earls (the Mormaers under a new name), whose titles were personal and official, not feudal and territorial. David, who had lived in a Norman court, surrounded himself with Norman adventurers to whom he gave lands and appointments.

Alexander was a good son of the church but not in the least disposed to barter away the integrity of his realm in the interests of Holy Church, or any other institution. An English monk whom he invited to become Bishop of St. Andrews insisted that he should be consecrated by his own Archbishop of Canterbury; Alexander, who saw behind this the spectre of a subordination of St. Andrews to Canterbury, was as insistent that he should not. The Archbishops of York had for long claimed St. Andrews as a suffragan see and now York, the king of England, and the Pope himself intervened to persuade Alexander to recognise the supremacy of the northern English Archbishop. Alexander stood fast and won, but the question, which was only the great problem of investiture complicated locally by a claim of alien supremacy, was not finally settled.

With the accession to the throne—the throne of all Scotland—of David I, the revolution which began with the conquest of Lothian and with Queen Margaret was in full flood. David's friends were Normans, the speech of his court was Norman-French although the king could probably speak Gaelic. He had married the wealthy widow of a Norman baron in England, who brought him the Earldom of Northampton and the

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Honour of Huntingdon, thus making him one of the most powerful of English barons. The relations of Scotland and England were now to be complicated by the existence of Scottish kings who were also English feudal landowners. Into Scotland, then, David might be expected to import Norman-French feudal civilisation and with it a new element, competing with the anglicising process. In practice, his reforms operated as a powerful stimulant to the spread of the English language in Scotland. The metamorphosis did not begin with David nor was it complete at his death, but during his reign it was at its swiftest and most intense. It is convenient then to halt and understand what happened.

The feudal revolution in Scotland followed the discovery that, in a fight, the armoured cavalryman was worth several light-clad footmen and that feudalism with its elaborate and well-defined structure of services and privileges produced a better-knit society than the loose tribal organisation of the old Albyn. In any case, to the south of the Forth the Scots' annexations had brought about a state wherein the old societies were disorganised without being replaced by the Celtic system. Lothian was a beheaded Northumbria; the Strathclyde kingdom was destroyed; much of its area was waste waiting to be re-settled. Only in Galloway the old Pictish customs lived on. In these parts none of the Celtic officials seem to have acquired lands. Economically, too, the country had outgrown the old system. Trade was growing to be a powerful solvent of the settled rural, tribal policy. Scotland was in a fluid state, ready to be poured into the new moulds which her kings provided.

The tribal chiefs of Albyn, the toiseachs, had already disappeared, and in their place we find thanes,

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sixty-three in all, most of them between Forth and Spey. They were officers of the king, under the Celtic earls, but apparently holding their demesne lands by the payment of a rent or "cain" to the king. Their name suggests that they were an adaptation of English modes to Scottish conditions. Under the thanes and their superiors the earls, the old Celtic order social continued. Every landholder paid "cain", the fraction of his produce which was his superiors' due and of which that superior passed on a proportion to the king, and "conveth," or so many days' hospitality to the superior. Every able-bodied man was compelled to attend the "expedition" and "hosting" (military service at home and abroad) once a year. This constituted what was called "Scottish service".

Feudalism did not replace these duties at once. First it sprang up in districts where they had not been known, then gradually it spread over the whole land, side by side with the old system but slowly submerging it; in remoter parts never wholly ousting it.

David I gave considerable grants of land to Normans; in Annandale de Brus appeared, in Renfrew, Fitzalan, in Cunningham, de Moreville. A series of prudent marriages with the daughters of Celtic magnates gave other Normans the possession of wide areas in Albyn itself; in time the Gaelic earls turned themselves into feudal lords, holding their lands not as the emoluments of their office but as fiefs of the crown.

Just as David gave his son a Norman name and was followed in the modish practise by many of his Gaelic lords, so when he appointed Normans to the new feudal offices the Normanised Celtic earls introduced on their estates men accustomed to the new system. Feudalism, with its charters and its military service, meant a Chancellor, a Constable, a Seneschal, a

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Marshall, a Treasury with a Chamberlain. These high offices tended to be filled by men familiar with their duties—Normans or Englishmen. Similarly the Celtic lords had their Norman seneschals and bailies, and where a Norman acquired land he settled his own followers upon it, probably without much uprooting of the old population. These “planted” vassals and officers spoke English, as their lords spoke Norman-French. They were one of several elements, important not so much by their numbers as by belonging to the new, approved system, each of which played a part in the replacement of Gaelic by English.

With feudalism, too, came the substitution of a “concilium” of tenants-in-chief for such deliberative assemblies, “Seven Earls” or what not as may have existed in Albyn. This feudal great council evolved later into the Scottish Parliament.

David established diocesan episcopacy in Scotland and so completed the work of his mother. He found four bishoprics, St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Moray, and Glasgow (which he himself had created when Earl of Cumbria), and he added five more, Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin, so that the whole country was divided into ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Out of his immense wealth he gave generously—too generously a rueful descendant thought—to the church, building and endowing abbeys and installing in them monks from England and the Continent. And these English settlements, in their turn, provided monks for later foundations. The parish clergy—parishes began to spring up under the new episcopal governance—were largely English or Norman, as were the cathedral canons.

Here again there was a slow process of penetration in which the old Celtic and the new Latin clergy were

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for long found side by side. The old Celtic saints were remembered ; in Brechin diocese there was a Gaelic chapter ; the “ferleighin”, the educational officer of the Celtic church, survived for a century. But the church’s monopoly of education—now for the greater part in the hands of men of English speech—was inevitably used to advance English at the expense of Gaelic ; on the whole there was a clerical prejudice against the old language. The vast lands owned by the church were another instrument in the spread of English. English-speaking monks, bewildered among a Gaelic tenantry, naturally sought to introduce husbandmen who understood what they said and approved of their views on cultivation. It is at least possible that many of the parishes grew up to serve the spiritual needs of these incomers.

David found the Christian Church in Scotland scattered, ill-disciplined and poorly organised ; he completely re-modelled it upon the Latin pattern ; filled its ranks with foreigners, Benedictines, Cluniacs, and Augustinians ; built magnificent abbeys for it and gave it enormous wealth—wealth which was to be a constant peril to its moral stability and to the prosperity of the country. Incidentally this new-shaped Church of his made Scotland speak more English.

A stranger who travelled over the immemorial bridal paths of that far-off Scotland of the twelfth century would probably have felt a breath of novelty and change in the life about him. He would have seen the bright new abbeys rising and the confident new lords cantering after the red deer in their forests ; he would have heard a clash of tongues and dialects among the people about him ; in the villages he would have heard some Gaelic grumbling at the way the world was going and the difficulty of getting used to

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new things. But nowhere would the impression of a swiftly changing land be stronger than in certain larger groups of dwellings where was developing a life almost violently different from the ancient rural habits of the Gael. He would detect a certain aggressiveness in the men he met there, and a considerable pride in what they called "the burgh".

A burgh was not, primarily, a geographical expression. It was the name of an association of men rather than a place. The burghs of Scotland originated either in an opportunity to trade or in a military need. Their burgesses obtained certain rights of trade, protection, and the ownership of land in a specified area, in return for an annual payment to which was sometimes added specified military duties. It is possible that the earliest burghs existed among the English of Lothian, possible, too, that they were a later creation upon foreign models. Certainly we hear nothing of them before this time, before the reign of Alexander I. Most but not all of them were royal burghs, that is to say, burghs created on crown property by royal charter. The earliest seem to have been Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Stirling (these the most important), Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen. The first four formed an association, the Court of the Four Burghs, which promulgated laws relating to mercantile matters, the famous *Laws of the Four Burghs*, which form what is probably the most ancient code of burghal laws that has survived. There is also evidence for some kind of "anse" or association among the burghs to the north of the Grampians, but the southern group of four burghs became the nucleus round which all Scottish burghs gathered. David I granted charters to eleven new burghs; William the Lyon added fourteen more.

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As trade and strategy often coincide in their needs it is impossible now to say that this burgh was born to business and that one to military policy. But many of the burghs, especially those to the north of the Forth were "planted" as garrisons and rallying points for the supporters of the central government; in most of the burghs an obligation of "watch and ward" was imposed, involving specified guard duty at the royal castle under whose walls these burghs were apt to shelter. Against whom were these precautions taken? And for what reason was it thought that the burghs could be relied upon? Against those who resented the break-up of the old order, against the rural Celtic people. On two scores the king might look to his burgesses with confidence; the first that they owed to him their trading privileges; the second that they were plantations of aliens set down among a hostile population whose language they did not speak.

English and Flemings (whom Henry II expelled from England) and Danes, born to trade and to live in the burgh organisation: these came to live in the burghs, lured by the promises of the Scottish kings. To Berwick came many Flemings to create, round their famous Red Hall, the richest trade in Scotland. One of these Berwick Flemings, Mainard, built most of St. Andrews. North of the Forth, however, most of the immigrants were English, from Lothian or still further south. The charters of the burghs were based on that of Bruges or upon English models. Naturally, the burghs could not be called into being where there was nothing for a trading community to live by, but on the whole they were the outcome of a deliberate policy that used economic evolution for its own ends. Thus the burgh of Dumfries was created after a rebellion in wild Galloway; Perth fulfilled the hopes

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of its founder when it defended David's successor against rebellious Celtic nobles ; the Berwick Flemings gave all Scotland an example of valour when Edward I besieged the city.

The burghs were the outposts of the new order ; within them little Gaelic was heard : English and, among the wealthier merchants, Norman-French were the languages. As the burghs grew and thrived, the English tongue spread and flourished with them.

The King's dealings with the burghs were conducted through his chamberlain, who visited each burgh to see that the king's dues were paid, and presided over the meetings of the Convention of Royal Burghs, the powerful burghal "parliament" into which the old Court of the Four Burghs grew. This assembly of ancient lineage acquired complete control of the mercantile legislation and policy of Scotland ; it treated with foreign princes on commercial matters and apportioned among its members the payment of such taxes as should fall upon the burghs. The power it achieved helps to explain the comparative failure of the Scottish Parliament to become a moulding force in national history. The burghs tended to keep apart, to manage their own affairs and leave national questions alone, perhaps, because, in the beginning, they were alien interlopers.

Barons, bishops, and burghs—but the tale of the new Scotland is not yet made up. This David who has come down to us in the guise of a pious prig, was clearly the greatest statesman we shall encounter in all this story. The comprehensive sweep of his policy, the powerful impression of design it conveys, prove him a man of genius. He gave Scotland a century of unexampled prosperity and peace, and when her great ordeal came, the strength to emerge from it Scottish

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still. That skill, patience, and forbearance accompanied his great reforms, the absence of grave schisms and dangerous revolts is witness, still more the fact that the foreign elements acquired a Scottish loyalty and a Scottish name.

With David begins a national judicial and administrative system. In Albyn the customary law, in Lothian English law, in the extreme North the Norse lawmen, in Galloway Pictish custom, between the Galloway men and their neighbours of Strathclyde a set of conventions, the Laws of the Bretts and the Scots,—upon this judicial confusion David imposed the beginnings of uniformity. The estates of the Norman or pseudo-Norman barons enjoyed the blessings of the “pit and gallows” power of the feudal lord, and a modified Norman law (the Scots would not tolerate the full ferocity of the Norman forest law); the burghs had their own courts and customs, English in origin; but there were still the vast areas of crown land to consider and more serious types of crime—the four pleas of the crown, murder, rape, robbery and arson. These latter became the business of the Royal Justiciar, a high official in whose circuit courts the justice-moot charges were tried.

Under the Justiciars were the sheriffs, of whom we first hear in David’s reign. He began a process, later completed, of dividing the land into sheriffdoms, and seems even to have contemplated a far-reaching scheme in which an earl, a bishop, and a sheriff were to represent in each district society in its three aspects, military, ecclesiastical, and civil. Within each of these districts the sheriff was the responsible royal officer and his court, held at a royal castle, was a court of appeal from the decisions of the courts-baron. He was more than a legal official, however; his duties were

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military, financial, and administrative. He assembled the feudal levies and marched them to battle, where they were commanded by the earl. He reported to the Justiciar those cases which that high judge was to try. He executed royal writs and letters, collected taxes, pursued rebels; the royal castles were commanded by his subordinate, the constable. These sheriffs were paid by fixed fees, but as a rule the lands of a barony were attached to the office.

The sheriffdoms ignored the old land divisions of Scotland, and, in a similar way, the sheriff supplanted the old legal functionaries of the Celtic kingdom, in which a "judex" was the district judge with a "mair" as his executive officer. Once again we find the two systems, the old and the new, existing side by side and are given an inkling of the process by which the old was gradually submerged and finally passed away. The judex seems first to have become an assessor at the sheriff court, appointed because of his knowledge of customary law and Gaelic speech; later he dwindled into the "dempster" who announced the doom or sentence, and at last, in the sixteenth century, his office was degraded to that of the common hangman. The mair, in old Albyn a direct representative of the king and collector of his "cain," became under the sheriff an officer who executed summons and called the suits. A century after David's death the whole country was split into sheriffdoms, though in remote districts the sheriff's authority was less effective than that of local dignitaries.

About this time, the clan begins to make its appearance in the Highlands: it may be taken as a symptom of the break-up of the Celtic tribal society and the imperfect success of the new order in replacing it. The clan was, clearly, a return to more primitive ways,

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to the family as the social unit and the family-name as the object of loyalty. It was part of the price paid for the great revolution.

Polyglot Scotland was to remain for long years after David: in Blind Harry's "Wallace", an English soldier jocularly addresses a Scotsman in a jargon of English, French, and Gaelic. Gaelic was still the chief language; Norse and Welsh lingered; Norman-French made headway for a time as the speech of court, nobles, churchmen and rich merchants; but English was the conquering tongue, its base in Lothian, its outposts in every burgh and abbey, in the sheriff courts and the Norman barons' estates. The law was expounded in English, the legal language of Scotland while English laws were still written in Norman-French.

V

THE LAST OF THE NORSEMEN

DAVID had a claim to the English throne through his mother; his sister had married the English king, Henry I. When, therefore, on the death of that monarch, England was plunged into a civil war between the supporters of Henry's daughter (and David's niece) the Empress Matilda, and those of Count Stephen, David saw a pleasing opportunity of combining business with avuncular duty. Time and again he led armies into England, great ill-assorted hosts in which armoured Norman knights, hard-bitten Angle peasants from Lothian, quick-tempered Celts, Norse-Gaels from the west and pure-blooded Norwegians from Caithness and Orkney, and Galwegians with leather targes and javelins, all quarrelled and jostled and insulted one another in at least four languages. The atrocities committed in north England by the ferocious Galwegians probably led to a hardening of English hearts against David, for at first the northern barons, his friends, seemed ready to welcome him as their king.

Roused by their clergy, the Yorkshire and Durham men did battle at Northallerton with the Scots. Fighting round the ship's mast from which hung a silver pyx and the banners of the northern saints, the English stood firm before the frenzy of the Galloway men and survived the victorious charge of David's horse. In the end the Galwegians broke and fled. David, with a picked guard of mailed horsemen

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fighting under his golden dragon flag, covered the hasty retreat. This Battle of the Standard proved the inferiority of leather and recklessness to steel and discipline. It justified the revolution that David was then undertaking in Scotland and revealed one of the new problems it was to create. For, before the battle, two Normans came to David from the English lines. David had given them lands in Scotland for which they had sworn him allegiance. When they found that they could not persuade the king of Scots to retire even with the promise of yielding Northumbria to his son, they renounced their fealty to him and rode back to fight. Their names were Robert de Brus and Bernard de Balliol.

Defeated in the field, David won a diplomatic victory; while he lived Scotland's border was on the Tees and the Eden; Newcastle and Carlisle were her frontier strongholds. In the latter town David died, peacefully and in an attitude of prayer, leaving a boy of eleven, his grandson Malcolm, to follow him.

The reign of this epicene youth is notable for the surrender to the English king, Henry II, of all David's acquisitions in England, for a flaring-up of Celtic discontent under six of the great Gaelic earls which was baffled by the loyalty of the Perth burghers, and for a blow struck by Celts at the Norse King of the Isles. Somarled, a Celtic chief, made himself king of Argyll and the southern islands—and showed by a descent upon Renfrew and Glasgow that he was as ill a neighbour as any Olav or Sigurd.

Girlish, delicate Malcolm was succeeded by his athletic brother William, called from his banner the Lyon. Nine years after his accession William was the victim of one of those extraordinary accidents which make Scottish history the despair of scientific historians

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who find their grave quest of trends and underlying purposes interrupted by passages of ludicrous but momentous farce. William, invading England as his father before him, and with Cumberland and Northumberland as his bait, was snatched up by English horsemen, who had ridden blindly north through a mist. A captive in Falaise, he signed the famous treaty which made Scotland a vassal state of the English crown. Fifteen years later the politic Henry II was followed on the throne of England by a king as hasty and warlike as William. Richard Coeur de Lion, in return for a contribution of ten thousand marks to the funds of his crusade, released William from his oath of allegiance.

In this reign the old dispute about the status of the Scottish Church broke out again and, after long and wearisome quarrels, was settled once and for all. The trouble began when William was a vassal of England's and a Council at Northampton attempted to subject the Scottish Church to that of England. York and Canterbury fell out over the question of which see was to be the metropolitan of Scotland. Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, claimed that the Scottish church was the special daughter of Rome. The Pope, appealed to, sought to gain time. Meanwhile, William and the Curia quarrelled over the succession to the see of St. Andrews, the King expelling the Pope's nominee, and the Pope deposing the King's. Finally, after more bickering, and more excommunications, Celestine III declared the Scottish Church the direct subject of the Apostolic See. In Scotland, only the Pope or his legate could pronounce a sentence of interdict or excommunication. No longer could York or Canterbury turn longing eyes upon Scotland, and no longer could Scottish clerics remain in doubt as to which potentate

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it was in their interest to serve, the Pope or the King of Scots.

With William's death, after half a century of kingship, the time is come which later Scots in a darker day were to look back on and call the Golden Age. The boast that lay behind the lament was not without substance. Compared with other European countries, with England even, Scotland was more firmly welded together, was less troubled by civil warfare, knew more of peace and prosperity. Short was the span of years left to this halcyon era : two Kings and seventy-two years, and then catastrophe. Yet there remains enough to us from that time to bear out the sad song, our oldest, in which its splendour is enshrined :

When Alexander our king was dead
That Scotland led in love and le (law),
Away was sons (abundance) of ale and bread :
Of wine and wax, of gamen and glee :
Our gold was changèd into lead.

The first of these kings, Alexander II, took a firm hold of those parts of the Scottish mainland which had been lost to Norway without becoming part of Scotland. With a fleet of war galleys, he invaded Argyll, brought its fierce chiefs to their knees and installed men of his own in the lands of the most dangerous of them. The western isles he tried to buy from Haakon of Norway. "I do not know that I am so much in want of money that I need to sell lands for it," was the reply. Alexander died on the little island of Kerrera on the eve of setting out to conquer the Norse Hebrides, Innisgall, the Islands of the Strangers. The final trial of strength was still to come. Scotland had not seen the last of the dragon ships and the fair, ferocious seamen.

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Thirteen years later, the third Alexander attempted again to strike a bargain with the aged but unbroken Haakon, who was not in the least disposed to celebrate a reign of more than forty years by allowing the last possessions—or last but one—left to Norway from the great age of the Viking sailings to slip tamely through his hands. He sailed from Bergen, in the late summer of 1263, with a fleet of a hundred and twenty vessels, resolved to teach the Scots a lesson that would secure the islands from their meddling for all time.

In Scotland all was alarm and preparation; the sheriffs mustered their levies; troops poured into the burghs on the threatened south-west coastline. Haakon's armada came to anchor off Arran. Compared with this large and mobile force of picked fighting men, the ill-armed Scottish infantry in their woollen shirts were scarcely impressive. But Alexander had one weapon. It was already mid-August. For a month he played diplomacy with his enemy and then one day the wind rose, the skies lowered, and Haakon saw that he had been fooled. He sent men to ravage Lennox and the gale burst upon the Norwegian ships. Three were driven ashore by the west wind near Largs; Haakon landed with nine hundred men to guard them until they could be got off. There, between the raging surf and the first grass, a desperate struggle was fought out between the invaders and the Scottish levies under Alexander. The Norwegians extricated themselves but the game was up. Wind and weather and the shortage of provisions sent the fleet sailing north again. At Kirkwall in the palace of his jarl, Haakon died.

Magnus, the Norse king of Man, submitted to Alexander and Eric, Haakon's successor, sold the Hebrides to the King of Scots for 4,000 marks and an annual

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payment of 100 marks. These sums were paid out of the King's private purse. Orkney and Shetland alone were left to Norway: there for another two hundred years the Norse language and the Norse ways existed. Norwegian bishops ruled the diocese and the lawmen administered Norwegian law.

There were sporadic risings of the Celtic population in remoter districts and intrigues of noble factions, but on the whole, Scotland had peace within her borders and peace with her neighbours. And with peace came prosperity.

Men were watching flocks on the Border hills so that the rich abbeys (whose names may still be seen inscribed on Florentine rolls) might send their wool to the great markets of Flanders and Italy through the port of Berwick-upon-Tweed. This burgh was then easily the largest town in Scotland, its customs being pawned for a sum equal to a quarter of the whole customs of England. Men were setting traps in Scottish woods to supply the foreign merchants with the furs they sought. These woods were growing fewer now, in the south at any rate, and the stretches of tilled land between them were widening. But, by its woods alone, the Scotland of that age would look strange to our eyes: there were forests in Caithness, where the last sad reindeer were hunted, a great wood covering most of Selkirkshire, tens of thousands of acres in the Highlands under trees. In Dumfries there was a great oak forest, twenty square miles in area, of which not a trace is left; in Aberdeenshire (to take another sample shire) eight tracts of woodland have utterly disappeared since that time. The area under timber was at least four times as great as now.

Fish, hides, salt, and livestock—these, with the wool and furs already noted, were the exports of Scotland.

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In payment came French wines, fine cloth from Flanders, spices and all the luxury articles of the time.

There were not many roads for those goods to travel along. You could almost count them on your fingers. First there were the remains—the ruins, perhaps—of three Roman roads, the first crossing the eastern Cheviots and meeting the Tweed at Newstead, then further north and fainter to Inveresk and Cramond; a similar way struck north from the west end of the Wall to Birrens in Dumfries; a third “wheel causeway”, also Roman, linked Liddesdale and Jedburgh. But the main artery was “Via Scoticana”, the Scottish Road, which ran along the East Coast from Berwick to Inverness, by Aberdeen. Similar coast roads joined Galloway and Ayrshire, Lanark and Edinburgh; the Kelso monks built a wagon-road from their abbey to its port at Berwick, and, in the other direction, to their cell at Lesmahagow. Other, lesser communications are mentioned; the most certain thing is that the roads were few and liable to fade into the moor when they were most urgently needed. Stone bridges—there was a fine example at Dumfries—were now being constructed as the wooden bridges were burnt down.

Not trade, however, but the land was still the chief occupation and source of wealth. Many burghs even were agricultural; each burghess must own his toft of one rood (a strip of land measuring a furlong by six ells) for which he paid sevenpence a year to the king. In addition, there were wide burgh lands divided by lot among the inhabitants. The division of land varied with the district: in the north-west, for example, a Norse relic remained in the “penny-lands”, so-called because they had paid a penny “scat” to the King of Norway. In other parts,

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though the size of the holding might vary, the oxgang of thirteen acres was the unit of measurement ; two of them made a husbandland and eight a hide or ploughgate. In the south, the husbandland was the usual holding ; in the north, where the soil was thinner, the davoch of four husbandlands (416 acres). The husbandman contributed two oxen to the plough which he shared with three neighbours. The farming of Scotland was done with eight-oxen teams, in which the steers were yoked four abreast and led by a driver who walked in front of his animals holding them by halters. The bulk of the population of Scotland at this time was made up of small free farmers and free labourers : there were also many serfs. If one of those serfs could live in a burgh for a year and a day without being challenged by his lord, he was a free man. There are signs that the serf-owner found it profitable to encourage his bondmen to obtain their liberty in this way.

Either for this reason or because the feudal system was never deeply rooted in Scotland, the very memory of villeinage was lost to the Scots while there were still serfs in England. When, a century after this age, French knights came to Scotland they were shocked to find that impertinent peasants expected them to make good damage done to their crops and still more shocked when they were forced to pay up. A free and self-respecting race of yeomen farmers who were gradually converting their feudal dues of service into money rents had thus appeared in Scotland a short time after feudalism was established.

Under the Alexanders, farming prospered. Great stretches of pastoral land tasted plough and spade for the first time : by law every man with four oxen was to take land of his lord and plough and sow it ; every

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man with less had to delve the land with hand and foot. The population must have been growing at this time : in the turf-cabins or log-huts of the countryside, the wooden or timber-framed houses of the burghs, the timber and clay baileys of the nobles now being replaced by stone castles, and the monasteries, lived almost half-a-million human beings. Prosperity was reflected in the industries that sprang up : tanning in Glasgow, salt-making in Lothian, and coal-mining (the earliest mention of this is in 1291 in a charter of the *Sieur de Quenci* to the monks of Newbattle) ; in the noble churches that were being built. This is the age of St. Andrews Cathedral, of the choir and crypt of Glasgow, of the transepts of Elgin and Dryburgh, the choir of Brechin and the choir and transepts of Sweetheart Abbey.

Religion was a living and a vigorous thing. The church was rich and powerful, still uncorrupted by its power and wealth. Energetic churchmen like Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, who rebuilt his cathedral after a fire, and Clement, the Dominican Bishop of Dunblane, who arrived at his see to find a chaplain celebrating mass in a roofless church, and who built a cathedral and endowed a chapter before he died, were typical of the time.

In 1225 the Pope granted the Scottish Church the right to call provincial councils without a papal bull and to promulgate canons. There was still no Scottish metropolitan, the president of the provincial council being called "The Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Church".

As a prosperous and, for the times, unusually well-knit state Scotland was not entirely out of touch with the intellectual life of Europe. Scottish students from the cathedral schools were pouring out to Oxford,

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Paris and Bologna. Even if the glory of the great Franciscan, Duns Scotus, cannot be claimed for Scotland, Michael Scot, the wizard of the legends, undoubtedly left his Border home while William the Lyon was on the throne to become a notable figure at the exotic Sicilian court of the Emperor Frederick II, whose tutor he may have been, whose friend he certainly was. He was the translator of Aristotle and a leading authority of the time on alchemy, astronomy and medicine (a pill of his devising was for long a specific against headaches and the humours); he may be taken as a type of the eager scholars Scotland was sending out in shoals to foreign universities.

On the nineteenth of March, 1286, a storm broke over Scotland and blew the Golden Age away. Alexander III set out from Edinburgh to ride to his queen at Kinghorn; in the darkness and tumult of the night his horse stumbled over the Fifeshire cliffs and he was killed. His two sons and his daughter had died before him. The heir of Scotland was his infant grand-daughter, child of his daughter and Eric of Norway. Thunders and lightnings out of season, prophecies and portents, have come to shed an unearthly light upon the last hours of the king; thus the fevered imagination of a people has composed out of the whistling of wind and the roar of surf over the broken body of Alexander, a Wagnerian overture announcing ordeal and death and ruin.

VI

ORDEAL BY BATTLE

A WORD ran over the corses and through the glens bringing new fears and darker speculations : Margaret, the Maid of Norway, the child Queen of Scots, had died in the Orkneys. Some said the rumour lied : the maid had been kidnapped. Others said Edward of England had had her put out of the way. But Margaret died : the Bishop of Bergen was a witness of that.

It had looked as if a happy solution of the problems brought by a child queen would be found in the marriage of Margaret and her half-cousin, Edward, Prince of Wales. This proposed union of the crowns, which was not to affect the distinctive Scottish institutions, would have tided the nation over a perilous passage in its history, preserved peace on the borders, and given to the crown the powerful friendship of England. But now another way must be found. It was found speedily enough by Edward I.

The King of England stood in a curious relationship to Scotland. He was the brother-in-law of the dead Alexander ; he was feudal superior of the Scottish monarch for great estates in England ; the most powerful Norman nobles in Scotland owed him fealty for English lands ; Eric of Norway was deeply in his debt. It was natural that the Scottish magnates should, with the approval of the people, turn to Edward for help : the two neighbours had been on friendly terms for a century. It was natural, too, that

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when the Maid died, Edward should be accepted as adjudicator in the claims of the dozen candidates for the Scottish throne. But if any Scotsman imagined that Edward's interest in the country was altruistic he was disillusioned. Edward, with the feudal array of North England to lend weight to the effrontery, met the Scottish barons and clergy at Norham and announced that he was present as Lord Paramount of Scotland.

Though the calm of historians' studies on both sides of the Tweed has been shattered by envenomed disputes as to the validity of this claim of superiority, it has now a purely academic interest. The war now drifting nearer was not, in essence, a conflict between an overlord and contumacious vassals. Edward, however, to satisfy his idiosyncrasy of being in the right, chose to give it that complexion. At different times, English kings from Edgar to William the Conqueror obtained vague submissions from Scottish kings. English historians maintain that these homages were done for the kingdom of Scotland; Scottish historians hold that they were for the English estates of the Scottish kings and nothing more. One clear and undeniable instance of submission blows the whole fabric of paper pretensions sky-high. William the Lyon, captured at Alnwick, did homage for his kingdom to Henry II; everything indicates that this was something quite novel. Henry thought so, and the Scottish people thought so. They felt the new shame deeply enough to pay crusading Richard a great sum to be rid of it. While Alexander III was a minor, his uncle, Henry III, called himself not overlord but adviser to the king of Scots. But Edward, holding all the cards, had himself acknowledged Lord Paramount of Scotland by the claimants to the throne.

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In the end, Edward's choice lay between Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale (and of 90,000 Yorkshire acres) and John Balliol, who had lands in Scotland, England, and Normandy. Both were descended from David of Huntingdon, younger brother of William the Lion, Bruce claiming as nearer by a generation to the common ancestor, and Balliol as the representative of the elder line. After long delays Edward found that John Balliol was rightful king of Scotland.

Balliol's four years of kingship were spent in swallowing insults. Edward, now that he had a hold on Scotland, was determined to tighten it. In defiance of the terms of the treaty made between Edward and the Scottish magnates, Scottish law-suits were taken to London over Balliol's head. The decisions of Scottish councils were upset on appeal to Edward. A Gascon wine merchant sued in England for payment of a wine-bill of £2,197 which he said was owing to him by Alexander III, and Balliol was summoned to Westminster to plead. Scottish castles were tamely handed over to English garrisons as guarantees of good behaviour. Ships laden with corn for Scotland, where there was a shortage of provisions, were seized by Edward's bailiffs. At last the worm turned. The "Toom Tabard" (empty jacket), as his contemptuous subjects styled Balliol, expelled Englishmen from Scotland, forfeited their estates (Bruce being one of the sufferers) and concluded a league with France.

Edward made effective reply. He besieged the great merchant town of Berwick, captured it after a heroic defence, and delivered it up to thirty-six hours of the most hideous butchery. The castles of Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling were easily taken; Balliol abased himself and renounced his crown.

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Nothing seemed lacking to Edward's triumph, but in fact he had merely made the success of his policy impossible by bringing into the field an adversary as resolute as himself.

The Scottish nation had so far taken little or no part in those high matters of state ; they had acquiesced in Balliol's accession ; they did not regard England as an enemy ; their withers were unwrung by feudal ceremonies of submission in which they were not present. But now things were quite different : a loathsome exhibition of barbarism had been perpetrated against their fairest city. The massacre of Berwick created in thirty-six hours a new thing in the Scottish mind ; it did not make the Scottish nation—that had been hammered out in the long years when Scotland's face was turned to the West and the Scandinavians—but it made the Scottish hatred of England which four hundred years were not enough to quench.

Half a century before, an Englishman had summed up the salient qualities of the nation : " The men are lyght of harte, fiers and courageious on theyr enimys. They love nighe as well death as thraldome." And now something quite new was being born in Scotland : the common people were about to prove that without their natural leaders, without the feudal organisation, they could find captains, improvise armies, survive disasters, exhaust the best troops in Europe, and, in the end, conquer. Edward seems to have thought that he had baffled this spirit of nationality when he had carried off symbols of independence like the Stone of Destiny on which for centuries the Scottish kings had sat at their coronation, the Black Rood of Queen Margaret, and certain national records, and when two thousand Scottish notables, representing every class and rank, had appended their seals to a document

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acknowledging his supremacy, the famous "Ragman Roll". The most powerful Scottish nobles were in his court at London; an English governor, treasurer, and justiciar and garrisons of English or foreign soldiers held Scotland for him. What had he to fear? Where could the Scottish people find leaders?

In the Church. Only one Scottish bishop—of St. Andrews—was a friend of Edward's; the others perjured themselves times beyond number, risked death and excommunication, but were irreconcilably nationalist. The Archbishop of York was remembering again those metropolitan pretensions of his see: perhaps that had something to do with it. The attitude of the Scottish clergy is expressed in the remark made to a timorous sheriff by Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, as he led his men against an English landing-party: "The king would do well, sir, to hack your spurs from your feet." The Scottish people were to find their leaders in such fiery shepherds, and in the proud, athletic son of a Clydesdale bonnet-laird, in a boy sitting in a lecture-room of Paris University, in a young man of great possessions who was to travel on crooked paths before he learnt to be a king.

A year after Balliol's humiliation there was a grave outbreak of crime in the town of Lanark; a band of men entered the lodging of the English sheriff, Hazelrig, and one of them, a sinewy youth named William Wallace, a poor knight's son, flung the sheriff downstairs and ran a sword through him. So the light was put to the tinder.

Every Scotsman who had endured insult or oppression from the English garrison knew where to go if he wanted vengeance. Scores of sullen fellows disappeared from their native towns and found their way to Wallace's camp in the hills. A lightning raid on Scone,

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where the English justiciar was holding his court, resulted in the panic-flight of that official and the loss of all his baggage. The success brought recruits in hundreds to the new leader; castles with English garrisons were besieged, and all over the country the detested troops of the army of occupation were attacked. In the south-west a few barons even—among them Robert Bruce, the young grandson of the Bruce who had claimed the crown—plucked up enough courage to raise a following but not enough to face English cavalry. De Warenne, the English governor, marched from the south on Stirling with fresh levies. Wallace, with his irregulars, was at Dundee but he made a swift move and intercepted de Warenne at the bridge over the Forth near Stirling. While the English were crossing the river, Wallace attacked, cut their host in two, slaughtered one half and put the rest to flight. The result was that all Scotland was recovered from the English, and the war carried into the enemy's country; no Scottish barons attended Edward's parliament at York and Wallace with his co-adjutor, Andrew de Moray, "the leaders of the army of the kingdom of Scotland", despatched letters to the Hanseatic League inviting them to renew commercial relations.

But Scotland had not yet done with Edward, who broke off a war in France to give his personal attention to the Scots. The army which he led into Scotland was on the eve of beating an ignominious retreat before famine,—supplies were the great problem of these English campaigns north of the Cheviots,—when news was brought to him at Kirkliston, near Edinburgh, of the lurking place of his elusive enemy in a wood near Falkirk. Wallace had ventured near the English camp, probably intending a surprise—had ventured

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too near. A swift march brought Edward to the rising ground where Wallace had drawn up his spearmen in four circles or "schiltroms", with the Ettrick archers between. Wallace's cavalry fled, leaving the dense masses of his men at the mercy of the Welsh bows, which shot a gap in the spear-hedge for the armoured cavalry. And so this battle of Falkirk ended in defeat irretrievable. It proved that Scottish infantry could face with intrepidity men in mail on barbed horses, and that they could not hope to beat a combination of cavalry and archers.

Wallace was defeated. His revolt was at an end. But he had not failed altogether. He had given the Scots something infinitely more valuable than any trick of war: courage, the memory of a superb adventure, the example of a devoted and dauntless spirit. Seven years after this fight, and after wanderings in France and Italy, he was martyred in Smithfield Market after a mock-trial in Westminster Hall.

Before that year of Falkirk was ended, a new focus of resistance to England appeared in a group of nobles who met secretly in the depths of Selkirk Forest and appointed three of their number Guardians of the land: Lamberton, the new Bishop of St. Andrews, Robert Bruce, and Sir John Comyn of Badenoch, nephew of John Balliol. The war with England was renewed and Stirling Castle taken.

To understand the position during the next few years it is necessary to grasp the enormous difficulties that confronted a mediaeval king, even a king of Edward's ability, in waging war at such a distance from his capital as Scotland was. Yorkshire was the main base of all the wars against the Scots, so that Edward contemplated transferring his capital to York in the event of Scotland becoming permanently part of his

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realm. But between Yorkshire and the vital central plain of Scotland were a hundred miles of hill and moorland where foraging parties met with small rewards. An enormous supply column of provision and fodder wagons had to move behind the army over roads which beyond the Cheviots were few and bad. A winter campaign could not be fought without vast and expensive preparations.

The Guardians, then, were able to keep all Scotland north of the Forth free of the English. A permanent garrison of about 2,000 professional soldiers, under the command of the English Warden, remained in Scotland during the winter, confined to castles in the Lothians, Clydesdale, and the Borders, with a few watching the Galloway highlands. Within this English "pale", Edward's rule held from one year to another, although it is likely that its effective area was a series of circles of short radius round each castle.

In 1302, Robert Bruce made his peace with Edward and was rewarded with the sheriffdom of Lanark; but in the following year an English force was defeated at Roslin outside Edinburgh by Sir John Comyn, while attempting to conduct a winter campaign in Scotland. That summer Edward came north with a well-equipped army, provisioned from a fleet of thirty vessels and supplied with floating-bridges and a siege train. He had now peace from continental troubles; Philip of France, Scotland's ally, was his friend, and the Pope had waived his fantastic claim (advanced, perhaps, at Wallace's instigation) to be the sole Lord Superior of Scotland. As far as Moray he made the eastern lowlands his and, after wintering at Dunfermline, battered down the walls of Stirling Castle in the spring with stones from thirteen engines. Comyn and Bishop Lamberton surrendered, and, crowning mercy,

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Wallace was laid by the heels early in the following summer.

Edward had won at last. Ten Scots and twenty English commissioners (called at Bruce's advice) drew up an "Ordinance for the Government of Scotland"; John of Britanny, Edward's nephew, was made lieutenant; under him were eight justiciars (four of them Scots) and many sheriffs.

Not here does the story end, however.

Nothing in the previous career of Robert Bruce, the half-Celtic grandson of that Bruce who was Balliol's rival, would lead us to expect from him that which he now did. Twice he had fought against Edward and three times he had submitted to him: for the last English campaign he furnished siege-engines and a thousand men. He was Lord of Annandale and, through his mother, Earl of Carrick; he had a claim, now that John Balliol had retired to obscurity on his Normandy estates, to the defunct crown of Scotland.

What the motives were which led him to the extraordinary step he now took we do not know; even after he had set his foot on the path, his character seems to change and develop; the wary, supple adventurer becomes the steadfast, noble-minded king. But first an agreement with the Bishop of St. Andrews, and apparently, with the Bishop of Glasgow too (the Church was deep in this and every other Scottish plot; seems even to have acted as a kind of secret service for the rebels); and then a ride from London to meet Sir John Comyn in the chapel of the Minorite Friars at Dumfries. What happened at the meeting no man knows. The two detested one another; each was rich, powerful, with a claim to the crown; at a meeting eight years before it had needed force to drag them from one another's throats. Likely enough

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some squabble about leadership in the conspiracy they were both embarking on was the cause of it ; at any rate, Bruce came out with a bloody dirk and his friends rushed in and killed Comyn among the friars. Murder premeditated may be ruled out : a church was not the place a sane man would choose for that. And the blood of these Bruces was of the wild Celtic-Norman blend that turned so much of Irish history into romance, and has loaded so many Irish estates with debt. What matters is—Comyn was dead, and in a church ; murder and sacrilege. But a dangerous rival the less for the crown.

The next six weeks are crowded : the Bishop of Glasgow setting tailors to furbish the coronation robes from vestments in his own wardrobe, and at the same time writing letters to Edward deploring this “ riot among the Scots ” ; a little party riding to Scone’s haunted churchyard ; a handful of knights standing round while the Countess of Buchan, a lady living apart from her husband, mysteriously, placed on Bruce’s head a circlet of gold ; Edward celebrating with a great pageant, for which the apple-trees of the Temple Gardens were hewn down, his determination to destroy this sacrilegious murderer, this “ king Hobbe ”. Three months after he was crowned, Bruce’s followers were surprised and scattered in Methven Wood by English troops.

The new king fled westward into Argyll. The greater excommunication was pronounced upon him at St. Paul’s Cathedral ; Edward’s wrath pursued him, threatening him with the torments of the Norman treason law ; in Buchan, Galloway, and Argyll were kinsmen of the Red Comyn, thirsting to quench the blood-feud. It was these last that cost Bruce most trouble. Through hairbreadth adventures he reached

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the outer isles where he found friends ; but Scotland was too hot to hold him just now. He sailed, to the island of Rathlin, says tradition ; to friendly Norway, where his sister was Dowager Queen, some modern scholars think ; to Orkney as yet another opinion holds, there to meet the Bishop of Moray who was soon preaching a holy war throughout his diocese on Bruce's behalf. Meanwhile, his wife, sister and daughter were imprisoned by the English ; his brother Nigel and many of his followers were executed.

But next spring he was in Scotland in his own earldom of Carrick.

There, with a few hundred spears, he led the life of a hunted outlaw among friendly Scottish woods which no more exist while six English cavalry brigades circled about to take him, and in Galloway his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, landing with troops they had raised in Ireland, fell to the kinsmen of the dead Comyn.

They were strung up at Carlisle, whither the aged, dysentery-stricken, but relentless Edward was borne to lead a final, decisive campaign in Scotland. Bruce won in the meantime two heartening successes at Glen Trool and Loudoun Hill in which he handled his little force of foot with skill against horse and archers. He had now his bold brother Edward with him and a dark-complexioned young man, Lord James Douglas, whose father had died in the Tower of London in the year of Falkirk and who then left his books at Paris and took service as a page with the arch-enemy of England and true nurse of the Scottish war (with his brother of Glasgow), Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews. On a pony from his patron's stable Douglas rode out one morning and met Bruce on the hills near Moffat.

Every parish church was now a hotbed of seditious propaganda ; people on whom English law and

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lawlessness alike weighed heavily began to lift their heads again and fit old prophecies to the new times. But at Carlisle Edward was reviewing his chivalry, decked with green leaves for Pentecost.

A twist of fortune changed the whole aspect of the scene. Edward died. His son abandoned the projected expedition; Bruce was right to fear him less than the bones of his father.

The king of Scots, as we may begin to call him, now made sure of the north by a swift, exemplary punitive raid on Buchan, a nest of Comyn influence, and by a triumphant thrust against the Earl of Ross, who had handed his Queen over to the English. The North—the old kingdom—was to be his stronghold. There spirit, geography and tradition fought all on his side and the pulpits (as indeed all over the country) were his constant press. In Tweeddale, Douglas and in Galloway, Edward Bruce kept the garrison fully occupied; Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, came over at this time, adding his stolid valour to complete the triumvirate of lieutenants. The English were pinned to their castles; North of the Tay, all but the castles of Perth and Dundee was Bruce's; the war became an affair of sieges and surprise assaults and of devastating descents upon northern England. Bruce would meet neither the armies nor the envoys of Edward. A provincial council of the Scottish Church at Dundee declared him the lawful king of Scotland. Perth, Dumfries, Dundee, Linlithgow, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh—one by one the castles fell to the ingenuity and audacity that a hard warfare had taught to the bands of broken men.

It was at Stirling that the mistake was made without which the supreme triumph would never have been. Edward Bruce, finding the castle too hard a nut to

crack, agreed to an arrangement whereby it must be surrendered if it were not relieved before the 24th of June of the following year.

And so it happened that on Sunday, June 23rd, 1314, a Scottish army waited above the Bannock Burn on the road that leads through Torwood to Stirling Castle. It was, as usual, a lightly-mailed army of spearmen and axemen; English, Gaelic and Norse dialects from Caithness and the outer isles were heard in the ranks. It had assembled not at the bidding of a feudal lord but on the more urgent admonition of a deeper need: "they love nyghe as well death as thraldome". Probably it numbered about seven thousand men, five hundred of whom had battle mounts.

The host that was coming to meet it was summoned from all England north of the Trent, Cumberland and Westmorland alone being excused, perhaps because Bruce's raids (which brought him two millions of our modern money in booty) had chastised them too sorely. Welsh archers and several thousand Irish infantry came. In all there were about twenty thousand foot. But the glory of the army was its magnificent heavy cavalry, three thousand nobles, knights, and men-at-arms whose very existence as a ruling aristocracy was due to the fact that they were equal in war to several pike-trailing foot-sloggers. Slowly the great host wound its way north over the Cheviots, followed by a baggage-train twenty miles long.

In front of the southward-facing position his vanguard had taken up, Bruce had made concealed pits at the bottom of which spikes were planted. These were never used in the fight. On the eve of battle, after a preliminary skirmish, the English army moved eastward and encamped in the low-lying land between the Bannock Burn and the Forth. On

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right and left was water; behind them river and stream met; in front the Scots were drawn up on rising ground.

Edward and his generals had made a bad choice of ground. Against a conventional opponent this might not have mattered; they had to deal with a soldier of genius.

Morning brought an astounding spectacle for mediaeval eyes; infantry advancing to the attack against knights and archers. It was as if the end of the world had come. In a sense, the end of one world *had* come. Bruce knew the moral value of attack, and the tactical advantage of keeping his enemy confined between those waters. A final English blunder had left the English archers unprotected and Keith, the Lord Marshall, scattered them with the five hundred horsemen. The English trumpets blew the charge. The shock came. . . .

It ended with heaped English corpses in the river and the burn, with broken fugitives hunted down by hostile peasants, with Edward galloping to Dunbar, there to take boat for England, with three hundred knights slain, and with a vast loot.

The war went on. Its scope widened; and now the aggression was all on Bruce's side. A diversion in Ireland ended in defeat and in the death of Edward Bruce. Had it succeeded it would have made him king of Ireland (he had assumed the title) and created, as it were, an empire of the Bruces. Once Edward came north again and carried off one lame cow as his plunder; on the homeward journey Bruce dogged his step with a swiftly-moving force of mounted infantry, living on stream-water, captured cattle, and the oatmeal which each man carried at his saddle. In the heart of Yorkshire there was a stiff battle and once more

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Edward decamped. Thirteen years after Bannockburn a last great raid under the command of Douglas and Randolph laid waste North England to the Wear.

By the treaty of Northampton (1328) Edward III's advisers recognised Robert Bruce as king of Scotland.

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WARS have to be paid for as well as fought. Commercially, the conflict that closed with the Treaty of Northampton was a disaster for Scotland. Berwick, her chief mercantile city, was sacked early in the struggle and was to be in Scottish hands for only a few intermittent years thereafter; the rich trade which passed along the valleys of the Tweed and its tributaries to the port at its mouth and which was the key to the prosperity of Alexandrine Scotland was struck to the heart. Roxburgh, chief of the inland burghs, was razed to the ground in one of the campaigns by which Edward III, before a more alluring quarry took his fancy, sought to achieve the purpose of his grandfather. Agriculture was gravely damaged by the war: crops were laid waste year after year, either by invading hosts or as part of a costly but effective strategy of defence. As a result vast areas went out of cultivation: live stock could be driven off but crops could only be burned where they stood. Inevitably famine came at frequent intervals: Robert Bruce arranged for grain to be brought over from Ireland to Ayr, the chief western sea-gate of the kingdom; later, during the ignoble war against Edward III, horrible stories of cannibalism are heard. There were more wolves in the forests and more pirates on the seas. Men who had lost the habit of peaceful labour in the excitements and plunders of war found an occupation after their heart in highway robbery or in the service

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of barons with a taste for private and profitable warfare.

Upon these economic factors the political aftermath of the war reacted with an intensifying effect. The kingdom was re-established in a military sense but as a civil organisation it had been shattered. In some sheriffdoms the administration had broken down altogether, in others it was utterly corrupt. It followed that the local power of the greater barons grew at the expense of the crown. The crown was now poor as formerly it had been rich: Robert Bruce could not maintain himself on the customary dues which had sufficed the Alexanders; he obtained a tenth penny of all rents from Parliament. Hostility to England, by this time a permanent part of the mental make-up of Scotsmen as well as a cardinal fact of Scottish statecraft, gave a discontented baron at least one source of help and encouragement he could rely on in his mutiny. Some barons had fought on the English side and had lost their estates: they were a useful tool in English hands. The situation was one for a strong monarch or a succession of strong monarchs. But Robert Bruce was followed on his throne by a vicious fool and two elderly ninnies.

The dispossessed barons gave Edward III his opportunity of avenging Bannockburn. With English support they landed in Scotland and proclaimed Edward Balliol, son of Edward I's puppet, King of Scotland. Within a year, Balliol was hunted over the border, but in the following spring Edward III laid siege to Berwick and, in an attempt to relieve the town, a Scottish army was routed at Halidon Hill. At a stroke Bruce's work seemed to be undone. Almost every Scottish castle fell into the hands of the English and Balliol was set up as king, doing homage to Edward

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for his crown and handing over to him Berwick and eight shires between Forth and Tweed, where English officials were installed. Meanwhile, the boy-king, David II, was sent to France for safety.

Five years passed, in which the Scottish leaders used against Edward the fabian tactics of famine, in which the wearisome business of up-rooting one English garrison after another was gone through, in which misery and ruin overtook the people of Scotland without weakening their resistance. There were some military exploits in the Bruce tradition : the ingenious trick that won Edinburgh Castle ; the successful defence of Dunbar Castle by that humorous Amazon, " Black Agnes ", Countess of March and daughter of the famous Randolph. Between this lady and her English adversary, Montague, Earl of Salisbury, a brisk war of *mots* and arrows was fought.

In the end Edward was too busy with France to give Scotland more than a passing glance, Balliol returned to England, and the young king David came back to a country which was once more free of foreigners.

Five years later during an insane expedition into England, undertaken in the interests of France (Crecy had just been fought), David was defeated at Neville's Cross, near Durham, and captured. His exile lasted for eleven years. In the interval Edward found time to raid Scotland once again and to destroy, in the classic of devastation called the " Burnt Candlemas ", every dwelling between Edinburgh and Berwick. As usual, his communications were harassed, his stragglers cut off, he found nothing to live on and his provision ships were lost in a storm. Even for the victor of Crecy, war in Scotland was an arduous and thankless business.

David was released on condition that Scotland paid

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a hundred thousand marks as ransom. It was a colossal burden to lay upon a distracted and poverty-stricken country and David summoned a General Council to discuss what expedients should be adopted to meet the debt. This year, 1357, is important in the constitutional history of Scotland because it is now that we have the first certain evidence of the third estate, the commons, taking part in the government of the land.

The Scottish Parliament in the form it assumed after the feudalising reforms of David I was an assembly of the chief landowners, the tenants-in-chiefs who held directly of the crown, bishops and abbots, earls and barons. In 1326, the burghs were a party to the national agreement by which Robert Bruce was given a tenth penny of rents ; but there is no evidence that they were summoned to the Convention which made the agreement. In 1357, however, they were undoubtedly represented at the General Council (this, like a Convention, was a somewhat less formal assembly than a Parliament, without the latter's judicial functions) which gave David II power to buy up all the wool and fleeces in the kingdom at a cheap rate, which doubled the great customs, and resumed all alienated crown property. Nine years later the burghs were a recognised third estate in the Scottish Parliament and took part in the important debates which ensured that money raised for the king's ransom should not be spent on other things, and re-stated the traditional Scottish doctrine that "the king should live of his own". A more important decision still was come to by these later parliaments when they resolutely refused to sanction the dishonourable arrangement which the deplorable David tried to thrust on them, whereby the remainder of his ransom

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was to be excused on condition that Prince Lionel of England succeeded him on the Scottish throne.

The appearance of the burgh commissioners was quite in accordance with the theory that Parliament was an assembly of tenants-in-chief, representing every acre of the kingdom, for the burghs were regarded as corporate tenants-in-chief, (apparently on a French model). At first only seven burghs sent members, but the numbers gradually increased. Though these members seem to have been elected by their fellow-burgesses they were in a sense responsible to the Convention of Royal Burghs, which was growing in importance at this time. Before long, the Convention met just before the sitting of Parliament, determining the policy of the burgh members and enforcing unanimity on them by fine. As it, too, had judicial and legislative powers, the loyalty of the burgesses was divided between the two bodies. In a Scottish Parliament the three estates met in one chamber and decided how taxation was to be distributed among the three estates; each estate then met separately and apportioned the fixed amount among its members. The burghs share was allocated at a meeting of the Convention.

The appearance of burgesses in the Scottish legislature would be a more momentous event if they had not already possessed in their Convention a legislative machine, with a recognised place in the constitution under the Lord Chamberlain, and if there had been in Parliament a separate interest of lesser freeholders with whom they could have allied themselves. Out of such an alliance of burgess members and knights of the shire the strength of the English House of Commons came. But in Scotland, thanks to the territorial power of the great families (and,

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therefore, thanks ultimately to the weakness of the crown following the war), the smaller tenants-in-chief were the dependants of the greater. Representatives of the lower clergy sat in Parliament; later the right seems to have been lost, though many members of this class sat as royal officials.

The Scottish Parliament had jurisdiction as a court of appeal in civil cases and as a court of first instance in the case of treason.

The reign of David II witnessed another event which deepened the confusion and disorganisation of the country. In 1349 the Black Death came to Scotland. A mad raid upon Carlisle—in England the awful thing had been raging for two years—brought “the foul death of the English” (as the Scots called it) to Scotland. Nobles and prelates fled to their remotest castles, but in the wooden houses of the burghs and the peasants’ turf cabins it killed swiftly and horribly: it is supposed that one-third of the population died.

David II, untrustworthy and arrogant, with his English mistress and his English ways, was followed on the throne by two old men who pass through the story like shadows. Each was tall and of a fine presence; each was unfit to hold the sceptre of troubled Scotland; each was, in the end, baffled, overborne, and mentally enfeebled. There is a strange poetry of pathos in the words that the second of them asked to have inscribed on his tomb: “Here lies the worst of kings and the most miserable man in the whole realm.” Strange that these two grey ghosts should be the first monarchs of the brilliant, vivid, and courageous house of Stewart!

The Stewarts were members of the Norman family of Fitzalan, hereditary High Stewards of Scotland; they reached the throne by the marriage of Marjorie,

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Robert Bruce's daughter, with Walter Fitzalan, and by the failure of the male line of the house of Bruce with David II.

The reign of the first of them, Robert II, who was fifty-five when he was crowned, marks a further stage in the decline of the crown before the power of the great families. A conspicuous example of this was afforded when, in defiance of the king's wishes, a foray was made by the barons upon Northumberland, to gratify a French military mission who wished to display their valour upon English soil. A later French armament, under Sir John de Vienne, Admiral of France, received scant courtesy from noble and peasant alike.

A more creditable chapter in Scottish military history belongs to this reign: it is that which bears the title, "Otterbourne". And a generation later, the Scots nobly wiped out their mean-spirited treatment of Vienne's Frenchmen by sending seven thousand men to France under the Earl of Buchan. Now French inhospitality had an innings, but it was shamed when at Baugé the Scots won a brilliant victory over an English army and when at Verneuil they were annihilated. Some were with the Maid to the end of her fighting, among them the painter of her banner, Hamish Power.

The sixteen years in which Robert III was nominal king of Scotland saw the crown brought yet lower. Government was actually in the hands of the king's brother, the Duke of Albany (his title recalls the old name of the kingdom), who was mainly concerned with maintaining himself in the regency and therefore did not care to take up the challenges offered to him. Robert II's time had witnessed a descent of wild Highlanders under the king's own son upon Elgin

and its cathedral ; now the Crown not only could not prevent but actually connived in acts of private war ; the king was present at a sanguinary battle or mass-duel at Perth between " teams " representing two Highland clan confederacies.

In 1399, Parliament appointed the king's elder son, David, Duke of Rothesay, Lieutenant of the kingdom, and so opened a deadly feud between this worthless young man and his uncle Albany. It ended when Rothesay, whose behaviour had become intolerable, was removed from his offices and shut up at Falkland. There he died of dysentery or starvation—whether murdered or not it is impossible to say ; the first is likelier. In the same year, at Homildon Hill in Northumberland, the English archers accomplished their usual victory over Scots who had forgotten the tactics of Bruce.

Death spared the unhappy old king the final blow. His surviving son, James, was sent to France for safety on a Dantzig merchantman, the *Marienknicht*. Off Flamborough Head in time of truce the ship was captured by the English. On the same day, 4th April, 1406, Robert III died, leaving a world in which he had practised without reward the untimely virtue of humility.

One event is conspicuous in the eighteen years that passed before Scotland had a king again and when the Duke of Albany, the young king's uncle, ruled as regent. At the time the War of Independence broke out, the Western Isles had belonged to Scotland for about thirty years. For long before that it had not made more than derisory submission to any king ; a vague confederacy, the Princes of the Isles, was the actual master of the archipelago. The sea-bitten coast with its imminent rampart of mountains and its fringe of islands depended on sea communications and could

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only be held by sea power, in which Scotland was deficient. These half-Norse subjects of the newest part of Scotland inevitably made trouble. In Bruce's time most of the Islesmen fought with the nation, but John of Lorn, a western chief related to John Comyn, was in alliance with Edward II for whom he held the western seas with his galleys and took back Man from the Scots. Later the Isles had declared for Edward Balliol.

Now another princeling, Donald of the Isles, made a treaty with England and in 1411 invaded North-east Scotland with a great host of Highlanders. He had an arguable claim to the Earldom of Ross, which had been passed over. This invasion was grave enough; no doubt he meant to make all the old Albyn his own. But it was not, as it has sometimes been represented, a resurgence of Celticism. Donald was opposed by Mackays and Frasers, and finally at the bloody fight outside Aberdeen known as the "Red Harlaw" he was beaten off by a mixed army of men-at-arms, Aberdeen burgesses and Highland peasants, led by the son of that celebrated cateran nicknamed the "Wolf of Badenoch." Donald himself (reputed to have been a Cambridge man) was the son of one Lowland woman, and the husband of another. The source of Highland intransigence was rather Scandinavian than Celtic.

The patriotism of the Scottish church has always been above suspicion; its conduct in the high office that was its special function was more open to criticism. There was always its vast and indefensible wealth to corrupt it. The bad old habit inherited from the Celtic Church whereby laymen were appointed to abbacies was never quite thrown off; the increasing papal control of appointments to bishoprics did not

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make for efficiency : Scotland was too far from Rome or Avignon.

Now three new factors came into play. The Black Death emptied scores of rectories and lowered the standard of education among the secular clergy. In the reign of Robert II, the Great Schism split Christendom and shook men's respect for the Vicar of Christ. Scotland, like France and Spain and unlike England, clung to the Avignon Popes, who held the reins loosely. Finally, in the teaching of the Oxford scholar, John Wycliffe, who died in 1384, the profound dissatisfaction with the Church found a voice and an intellect. The Scottish students at Oxford were on Wycliffe's side and may have been the first to spread his teaching to their native country. In 1407, while Albany was still regent, the first Lollard, John Resby, an English priest, was burned at Perth after an examination which found him heretical on forty separate points of doctrine. Lollardy did not die with him. In Ayrshire especially a Welsh strain in the people seems to have furnished a ready soil for enthusiastic religion.

But the Church in Scotland was not wholly a dead branch. It could still produce noble churchmen like Traill, Bishop of St. Andrews, who made a gallant attempt to put life into the moribund provincial councils, and like that Bishop of Moray who in 1326 founded the Scots College in Paris.

Intellectual curiosity was still driving Scots scholars to foreign Universities. At the end of the fourteenth century there were twenty-one "supposts" in the "English nation" at Paris : nine of them were Scots. These men came from one or other of the excellent schools controlled by the Church, such as the famous school at Ayr which still flourishes, 150 years older than Winchester, and the equally celebrated song

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school or choir school at Aberdeen. The Crown took a share in the patronage of learning : there are records of sums paid by letters under the Privy Seal for the expenses of gentlemen's sons at Paris University.

This respect for the things of the mind, flowering so strangely in distracted and impoverished Scotland came to its logical conclusion when in 1414 bonfires blazed in the streets of St. Andrews to celebrate the founding of the university by papal bull, and at the instance of Bishop Wardlaw. Laurence of Lindores, the best Scottish scholar of the age, was the first rector of the new foundation, which was modelled closely upon the University of Paris and divided into four nations, Fife, Lothian, Angus, and Albyn. Each of these elected a proctor and the four proctors in turn elected the rector. In 1450, the college system was inaugurated when Bishop Kennedy founded St. Salvator's College wherein were maintained thirteen persons (to commemorate Our Lord and His apostles), a provost, a licentiate, a bachelor, four masters of arts, and six poor clerics. The University espoused the cause of Martin V, the Pope under whom the church was re-united after the Council of Constance.

In this age a written literature appeared for the first time in Scotland—there is ample evidence of an earlier folk-literature. John of Fordun, a chantry priest of Aberdeen, trudged from monastery to monastery over all England and Ireland seeking materials for his copious history of the Scottish nation. Andrew of Wyntoun, Canon of St. Andrews and Prior of St. Serf, wrote, at a rhymed jog-trot, the "Original Chronicle" which tells the story of the Scots from the Creation down to 1419. Greater than either was the picturesque and, in patches, poetical John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen (1320-1395) whose narrative

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poem, the *Brus*, describing the adventures of Robert Bruce, is the first known Scottish work of letters and by no means the worst. Barbour had the opportunity of discussing the war of independence with scores of men who fought in it; recent research has vindicated his accuracy at several points. These writers used an English language: the native Gaelic poetry was, so far as we know, a plant of much later sprouting.

Trade was not entirely destroyed by the war and all the little wars. Scottish ships visited Baltic and Flemish ports. In 1371 Scottish merchants obtained special privileges of trade and protection at Middelburg, first of those agreements out of which the Staple was to grow. We have a whole series of records which prove that a commerce by no means negligible existed, the subject of repeated negotiations between the Convention of Burghs and continental powers and princes, and the Hanseatic League. Piracy grew along with more reputable modes of trafficking on the deep, and was the occasion of the Hanse in 1415 closing the Baltic to Scottish vessels. The earliest Scottish sea battle was fought in 1378 when Andrew Mercer, first of a line of Scottish pirate-merchants, and apparently a very rich man, plundered Scarborough with a squadron of Scottish, French, and Spanish ships and was later soundly beaten by Philpot, a London merchant.

VIII

THE KEY AND THE CASTLE

FOR fourteen years Scotland was ruled by a young man in a hurry. When he returned to his kingdom, James I was a man of thirty, athletic in body and vigorous in mind, who had not lived eighteen years in England without forming some definite opinions about the way a state should be governed. Said James, giving the key-note to those crowded years of his kingship: "If God grants me but the life of a dog, I will make the key to keep the castle, and the bracken-bush the cow."

A year after arriving in Scotland, the king had broken the power of the great house of Albany: the new duke, his sons, and his father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, were executed. The nobles were ordered to reduce their private armies; sheriffs were to ascertain the extent of the royal demesnes during the previous ninety years and tenants-in-chief were to produce their charters to the king—some of them brought him a rusty old sword—should he ask for them. An unusually heavy tax of twelve pence in the pound was imposed to pay the ransom owing to England—which the English preferred to style the "expenses" of the king's stay. In 1427, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and other Highland chiefs were summoned to a Parliament at Inverness and forty of them spent a term in prison. Two years later, when Alexander plundered Inverness, James acted promptly, caught up with the rebel in Lochaber and scattered his army. In his

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shirt and drawers, Alexander appeared before the altar of Holyrood Abbey, where the whole court was assembled, and delivered up his sword to the king.

By other means, too, James built up the strength of the crown at the expense of his nobility. Some barons had gone to England as hostages for the balance of the king's ransom: James betrayed no eagerness to pay. The estates of the executed Earl of Lennox were annexed to the crown; with less excuse the Earls of March and Strathearn were deprived of lands and earldom; the death of the Earl of Mar furnished the opportunity for yet another addition to the royal property. Such proceedings savoured of the high hand as well as of the strong hand; but the times demanded strength rather than scruple. The success of James's policy would be its ample justification. But could he succeed? Taxation made him unpopular with his subjects; his open assault upon baronial ascendancy gained him one powerful enemy after another in a class which had known a century of waxing pride, power and independence. Many a man whose heart was with the king must have wondered whether he would break the nobles' power before he was himself struck down.

It was not only in this task of making himself master in his own house that James's energies were spent. He turned his gaze on Parliament, remembered what he had seen in London, and framed a comprehensive scheme of reform. The Scottish Parliament suffered from the small numbers who responded to the summons to attend it. Parliament was an expensive luxury for a small country gentleman or a lesser burgh. The burgh found that affairs which concerned it most nearly were dealt with by the Convention, and the laird was content—so long as his rents were not too

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deeply eaten into by taxation—to leave the government of his country to his social betters. And so the great nobles dominated Parliament.

James divided the tenants-in-chief into two classes, the greater and the less. The former he made into a peerage of Lords of Parliament, who received a special summons and on whom rested a special obligation of attendance. Admission to this class was conferred at a ceremony of belting. The honour was probably not intended to be hereditary. And, for the first time, titles in Scotland were personal and not territorial. The smaller barons and freeholders were relieved of their nominal duty of attendance, on condition that they elected two representatives from each shire. The Lord Chancellor had presided over Parliament; James created, on the English model, the office of Speaker, an official to be chosen by the commissioners of the shires.

Behind these measures of reform there lay a plain desire to increase the efficiency of Parliament as a legislative machine, an ally of the central authority against the noble factions. When James passed, they passed with him, to be remembered, however, and realised a century and a half later.

Another Parliamentary institution which had a malign influence upon Scottish legislative history had come into existence towards the end of David II's reign. This was the famous "Committee of the Articles" (i.e. of bills) which came to obtain the sole right to draft bills and present them to Parliament for approval. It does not seem to have existed while James ruled and there are signs that it was, at this time, a device by which the nobility "managed" Parliament. Later, it was to become a regular part of the legislative machinery.

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James's reforms extended to the administration of justice. The laws were to be written, not in Latin, but in Scots, and were to be examined by an expert committee to "mend the lawis that nedes mendment". The delays of justice were to be remedied by the creation of a court of appeal, appointed by the king and meeting three times a year, composed of the Lord Chancellor and a committee of the three estates. The year after James's death, this court received its name, "The Session".

Parliament met every year and poured out a vast quantity of social legislation. A stringent system of fines ensured that the sheriffs did their duty.

But all this fine energy and statesmanship went down before a murderous baronial conspiracy, the fruit of the king's impatient handling of his nobles. The agent was Sir Robert Graham, on whom and on whose relations the king's hand had fallen heavily; but the instigator was the Earl of Atholl. This man had a claim to the crown as a son of Robert II's marriage with his second wife,—many holding as illegitimate the offspring of the first marriage, from whom came the later Stewarts. Graham and seven other assassins broke into the king's apartments in the Blackfriars Monastery at Perth one night in February, 1437, and left him dead with twenty-eight dagger wounds.

The reign of James II is what one might expect from the unhappy conjunction of a child-king, a plausible claim to the throne which more than one noble house could advance, and the existence of one or two families of outstanding wealth headed by men of unusual ability and ambition.

The chief men during James's minority were mere knights who had been advanced to high office by the king's father. They were Sir William Crichton,

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Master of the Household, Keeper of Edinburgh Castle and later Lord Chancellor, and Sir Alexander Livingstone, Governor of Stirling Castle. But when wide possessions and ability were united, lesser subjects could not long command the centre of the stage. The Douglasses were the greatest family of all—only lower in prestige than the royal house and at this time probably wealthier. Since the reign of William the Lyon they had been adding to their acres by prudent marriages and royal gifts. Now they were Dukes in France, and had vast estates in Douglasdale, Galloway, Stirlingshire, Moray, Ettrick Forest, Clydesdale, Annandale, and Lothian. Their wealth and magnificence was phenomenal. They were masters of the whole south of Scotland; they were followed by a retinue of a thousand horsemen; the king's writ did not run in the Douglas lands, where the family was the fountain of such justice as could be obtained. They were a challenge to the crown which could not be ignored. Crichton and Livingstone, rivals at first, united against the menace.

The treacherous murder of the young Earl of Douglas and his brother at Edinburgh Castle in the episode known as the "Black Dinner" seemed to have solved the problem by a simple act of ruffianism. The Douglasses were shorn of some of their possessions. But three years later another Earl of Douglas had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the realm, had broken the alliance of Livingstone and Crichton, and driven the latter from office. To complete a situation of extraordinary peril, Douglas had made a league with the two most potent nobles of the north, the Earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles. Against this powerful combination one man stood.

James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, is one of

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the most eminent of those patriotic clerical statesmen who shed lustre upon the mediaeval Scottish Church. With Crichton he sought to form a national anti-Douglas party and was rewarded by having the lands of his bishopric plundered by Crawford. A year later, when Crawford was killed, it was thought that the anger of heaven had struck him down.

In 1449, James II began to rule. Almost his first act was to have Livingstone and his two sons executed. Scotland was to have a king once more in this youth with the red birth-mark on his face :

. . . le roy Scotiste,
Qui demy face ot, ce dit-on,
Vermeille comme une amathiste
Depuys le front jusq'au menton.

The two groups of adversaries manoeuvred for two years before the crisis came. James took the opportunity of Douglas's visit to Rome in 1450 (when his pomp made it plain that he was one of the greatest nobles in Christendom) to restore order in the Douglas country. But when the earl returned, his lands were given back to him ; he was still too powerful to be deprived. An uneasy armistice gave Douglas and his three brothers, the Earls of Moray and Ormond and the Lord of Balvany, time to strengthen the bonds with Crawford, the "Tiger Earl", and the Earl of Ross who was also Lord of the Isles, and to intrigue with England. James acted at this crucial moment with a kingly disregard for morality. He invited Douglas to Stirling under a safe-conduct, asked him to break his alliance with Crawford and Ross, and when he refused, stabbed him. "The earl", said Parliament solemnly, "was guilty of his own death by resisting the king's gentle persuasion."

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The new Earl of Douglas with his brother Ormond might announce their defiance of the king with the blast of twenty-four horns, the Tiger Earl might ravage the north, but the King had now the upper hand. Even when the Douglas lands were once more re-united by marriage, when the Earl of Strathearn, a bitter enemy of the Stewarts, was released from England by one Douglas intrigue, and rebellion stirred up in the Western Isles by another, the royal power was not in such danger. In 1455 the power of the great house was broken for ever. James harried the Douglas lands in Douglasdale and Ettrick Forest and defeated the Earl's three brothers at Arkinholm. Moray was killed, Ormond taken and executed, Balvany fled to England where Douglas had already taken refuge. Their castles were razed and their estates confiscated.

Five years later James was killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh castle which, like Berwick, was still held by an English garrison. His work, it might have been thought, was entirely undone, for a boy of nine succeeded him. Yet in spite of this and in spite of the incompetence of his heir, it was never again possible for a single great family to defy the crown, and the insurrections that broke out during the reign of James III were cloaked by a pretence of replacing the king by another member of the royal family. The king might be attacked but the throne was safe. "Fiery Face" had done that much.

The early part of the new reign is dominated by the noble figure of Bishop Kennedy. Under the guidance of this great prelate Scotland won a notable advantage from the troubles of her southern neighbour, then distracted by the War of the Roses. Berwick was handed over by Henry VI in gratitude for the asylum afforded to him. Kennedy supported the Lancastrian

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faction in opposition to the Queen Mother, Mary of Gueldres, and the younger nobility, who favoured York. But Kennedy was wise enough and strong enough to trim his sails when he saw that the Yorkist king, Edward IV, was firmly seated on the English throne. When he died Scotland was more prosperous and secure than at the death of James II.

He was followed in power by a noble confederacy in which one family, the Boyds, was predominant. The young king was kidnapped by this party, who then proceeded to distribute honours and lands among themselves. Thomas Boyd, the most brilliant and attractive member of the group, became Earl of Arran, husband of the king's eldest sister, and the first subject in the land.

During this Boyd ascendancy Orkney and Shetland became part of Scotland. The "Annual" due to Norway for the Western Isles had fallen into hopeless arrears, and a marriage-treaty seemed in the eyes both of Scottish statesmen and of King Christian of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, a suitable solution. The Danish princess, Margaret, was betrothed to James III with a dowry of 60,000 florins of which 10,000 were to be paid before the bride left Copenhagen with the Orkneys given in pledge for the balance. At the last moment impecunious Christian could only raise 2,000 florins in ready cash so he handed over the Shetlands as a guarantee for the 8,000 florins outstanding. That was in 1468. Four years later the money was still due and Orkney and Shetland were formally annexed to the Scottish crown. Save that Berwick had still to be lost to England for the last time, Scotland had now assumed its final territorial form.

The Scoticising of the northern islands was not effected all at once, however. For another century

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the Norse institutions lingered, relics and reminders of a time when Scotland was almost drawn into the orbit of Scandinavia and of the persisting Norse strain in the racial *mélange*. The clergy remained Scandinavian, the Lawthing or local legislative—a purely Norse institution—with its presidents, the Lawmen, and its seventy rothmen or councillors, made up of lawrikmen (district delegates) and representatives of the ancient jarls, was only absorbed in the Scottish regality courts in 1568. The Norwegian language was not displaced by an English tongue until the seventeenth century.

Although the Scottish Church could still throw up noble figures like Kennedy it now began to suffer increasingly from the almost incredible wealth of its endowments. These attracted the covetous eye of kings and nobles—the quarrel which drove James III to his death broke out over the proposed transfer to the Chapel Royal of the revenues of Coldingham Priory from a baronial house which regarded them as its hereditary possessions—and even of the Apostolic See itself. We shall yet find a king of Scotland appointing his bastard to the metropolitan archbishopric and the three sons of another king owning three abbeys and a priory. If it was in some respects good that some of the vast wealth of the Church should pass back into lay hands by dubious means, it was manifestly bad that grants should be made from monastery revenues to such an extent that the monasteries themselves were impoverished and, in some cases, extinguished. Lindores had once owned vast estates; now it meagrely supported half-a-dozen monks. On the whole, learning had departed from the abbeys, moral standards were low among the clergy, and discipline was lax. The most notable ecclesiastic of the time we are now approaching, Elphinstone, Bishop of

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Aberdeen, was himself a priest's son. In the Highlands, parishes passed from father to son.

There was rivalry, also, between the two chief bishoprics of St. Andrews and Glasgow, a rivalry which may perhaps be traced to Glasgow's geographical claims to be seat of the ecclesiastical administration of the western dioceses, or even, perhaps, to the old feud between the Scots to the North of the Forth, and the Britons and Angles to the South. In James II's time this rivalry took the form of a reply by Glasgow to the challenge of the new university at St. Andrew's. In 1453 Glasgow obtained its university also, on the model of Bologna with hints from Louvain, and the first step was taken on the regrettable path which was to give Scotland four provincial universities instead of the one national university which the country could have supported adequately and which might have become a focus for its intellectual life.

But in 1472 St. Andrews scored heavily over its competitor. Bishop Graham had his bishopric erected into an archbishopric and metropolitan see; fifteen years later it was given primatial rank, with all the rights Canterbury had in England, and its archbishop became a *legatus natus* of the Apostolic See.

The character of James III has been the subject of more dispute among the historians than those of other Scottish monarchs. Between those who would paint him in the gaudy and sinister colours of an Edward II, and those who regard him as the wronged victim of a wild age, one may well hesitate. It seems certain that he was irresolute and that he was a patron of the arts—this almost as great a crime in the eyes of one school of historians as his political incompetence. At most, he was guilty of being born too early; historically, this is unforgivable. In his favour it has

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to be urged that he had a treacherous brother and that he never lost the love of the common people.

The burghess class was rising again ; merchant princes like Sir Andrew Wood and Sir Alexander Lauder, men of less distinguished families, Bartons, Falconers, and Edmondstons, were becoming wealthy, buying lands, marrying into noble houses and—custom of good omen—attracting sons of the old gentry into their warehouses. It was from one of this new class, Alexander Napier, to whom James II gave the lands of Merchiston, that Scotland's greatest mathematician was descended. The merchants and the king were allies and in their alliance all hopes for Scotland lay. They represented the new unified state, the new commerce and, indirectly, the new springing of culture. On three distinct occasions the merchants stood by the king: once when the exile, Douglas, on a wild last raid from England, was beaten by the traders at Lochmaben fair and captured ; once when the burghers of Edinburgh rescued James from the castle where he was confined by rebellious nobles ; and once when Sir Andrew Wood placed a vessel at his disposal when his life was in danger at Holyrood.

James's so-called " favourites " have brought upon him the contemptuous condemnation of almost all his chroniclers. Yet there is no evidence that they were men of exceptionally dissolute character ; one of them, Cochrane, was a talented architect and another, Rogers, a celebrated musician of the time. There is only slight trace of popular indignation with them, though there is not a doubt that the nobles hated them and were jealous of the favour shown to them. This hostility is perfectly comprehensible : these men were " upstarts ". The king's deplorable tendency to be guided by astrologers is another matter. He was a

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devious, subtle creature, a renaissance prince born into the Dark Ages; the duality, recurring in his son, with an issue that was not so different as at first glance it seems, was fatal to him.

His troubles began with his two brothers, Albany and Mar, both of whom he threw into prison. The latter died, probably a natural death; the former escaped, to plot mischief abroad and to promise homage to England in return for being placed on the Scottish throne. James retaliated by preparing to invade England, but at Lauder, his nobles, in league with Albany, showed their hand. The favourites were hanged over Lauder Bridge and James rode back to Edinburgh a prisoner. Albany, now lieutenant-general of the realm, and the nobles had triumphed. Incidentally England seized the opportunity to capture Berwick, which was never again a Scottish town.

Events obscure and complicated follow. Albany threw over his friends among the barons, apparently hoping to become actual ruler of the country through his brother the king. But James proved the cleverer diplomatist, and, in alarm at his vanishing power, Albany re-opened his treacherous negotiations with England and fled. He came back to Scotland once in that desperate sally of Douglas's which was stopped at Lochmaben; that was all.

In the end, James fell before a large confederacy of barons who levied war on him in the name of his fifteen-year-old son, the Duke of Rothesay, whom they kidnapped—though he seems to have been not unwilling—from his tutor's care at Stirling Castle. James met them in the field at Sauchieburn near Stirling with an army of burghers and loyal north-country vassals. He was defeated and murdered in the mill where he sought shelter.

IX

A SHORT SUMMER

FOR a brief instant we are permitted to see Scotland as something more than a cockpit of feuds. Before it died, that old Scotland, so vigorous and so perversely attractive in its pride and turbulence, caught the light. Between the quarrels of the nobles and the catastrophe of the Church it is displayed to us at the time when the Renaissance had touched it and all was turned to gold. Yet, even as we look, we have a suspicion that we are seeing the Scotland that might have been rather than the Scotland that was. So fleeting is the vision, so mirage-like in its rich colours and sharp outline. But it was real enough, as the hawthorn flower is real; and it is worth examining closely, as the last fling of the old Scotland, the fine and final flower of the original national inspiration, unfolding at a time when, over all Europe, the old order was passing away.

It was the age of Copernicus, Columbus, and Caxton, of Michael Angelo, Ariosto, and Dürer; it was in Scotland the age of Dunbar and Sir Andrew Wood, of Aberdeen University and the Royal College of Surgeons, above all of a king who dabbled in dentistry and *la haute politique*, of James IV, and of Flodden. The figure of the king dominates all; in him are found in essence the ingredients of that age of change, when one part of a man's character might appear as an anachronism when taken with another part.

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James came to the throne when he was fifteen, but within a few years, thanks to the Stewart precocity, he was ruling the country firmly and with competence. With nobles and common people alike he was popular—more popular than any monarch in Scotland has been before or since, a pre-eminence which he owes to his courage, his skill as an athlete, his careless generosity, his good-humour, and that other quality most easily described as “kingliness”. There is nothing more extraordinary than the comparison between the wretched embarrassments of the throne in his father’s time and the unchallenged supremacy which he gave it.

Like his time, he stood between two ages : two sets of ideas warred within him and in the end destroyed him. On the one hand, he was the man of the new era, eager, curious, restless, unable to receive an ambassador because he was making gunpowder, endowing the thaumaturgical and aeronautical adventures of an Italian alchemist, encouraging the establishment of a printing works, sending prospectors to look for coal in Kintyre, pensioning poets, building a navy, encouraging trade and fisheries. He spoke five languages, and he loved to loiter in the arsenal where his smiths were forging cannon, in the shipyard where his new navy was being constructed, in the counting-houses of the Leith merchants. He was ambitious to play a part in the politics of Christendom such as no other Scottish king had ever done and, in fact, he made Scotland a European power which foreign potentates were compelled to heed. In his many-sidedness and in that touch of megalomania he had, James was the true Renaissance prince, forceful, thrusting, inquisitive, secular. But that is only half the man.

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The other half is pure Middle Ages. He was stricken with an intense remorse for the part he took in the fatal revolt against his father and, in expiation, wore a belt of iron to which a few ounces were added every year. He was liable to fits of an almost pathological depression when he would make lonely pilgrimages to distant shrines, when he would wear the habit of a friar (he was a lay member of the Observants) and give himself up to thoughts of leading a crusade, for which purpose the republic of Venice actually offered to make him general of its armies. In conjunction with his humane and tolerant dealing with the Lollards must be taken his punctilious observance of the rites and festivals of the Church. He was superstitious, a prey to astrologers and necromancers, above all he was chivalrous in the highflown extravagant manner that belongs not so much to the mediaeval times as to the mediaeval romances. Add to these a quick temper and a most unkingly rashness and the tale is made up.

From these mingled, fantastically conflicting strains in the character of the king flow inevitably the glories and the disaster of his reign. The Scotland of his time was a personal achievement. It perished with him.

In aspect that Scotland had altered little in the century that had passed. The woods of the south country had practically vanished by then, English invasions having assisted the normal clearing. But in the north there were still great forests waiting the axe and the flames. No fences or hedgerows broke the smooth surface of the cultivated lands where the oxen-teams worked ; a balk of unsown earth divided field from field and farm from farm. The old semi-communal economy of the rural districts by which land was divided by lot into small strips or " rigs " still held

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in the burgh lands and in the North but in the better farming districts it was being replaced by a tenure system whereby small farmers held their lands on four or five year leases. Serfdom had completely died out ; but short leases did not encourage a man to improve his land or his farm-steading. Agriculture was backward, arousing the contempt of foreign visitors ; of live-stock only horses were bred scientifically and these only by noble owners who wanted good mounts for war or the chase and imported blood-stock from Hungary, France, and Spain. The great Clydesdale family was not founded for another two and a half centuries. The swift brown sheep and the small black cattle that had been grazing in Scotland for ten centuries and more were still the mainstay of the stock-rearers. They were to be seen on the common grazing lands outside every village, along with poultry and lean swine. Oats and barley were the main crops, though wheat was grown in some favoured districts.

In the towns, stone was beginning to replace wood for the building of houses, but it was fashionable to face the streetward walls with timber and to build out overhanging galleries. Hides and skins, products of the grazing lands and the northern woods were still the chief export of the country and Flanders was still the chief market, followed by the Baltic ports (Dantzic especially) and Bordeaux, to which Scottish vessels went every year in October to fetch wine. In Dantzic the Scottish colony became increasingly important as the Hanseatic League declined ; it had its own altar in the Schwartzmonchenkirche. These Scots were divided into two classes, the wealthy merchants who gradually became the bankers of the country and the poor Scottish pedlars who about this time were beginning to flock into Prussia and Poland. Late in

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the sixteenth century it was estimated that there were no fewer than 30,000 families of them in Poland alone, banded together into Scottish Brotherhoods formidable enough to compel the abolition of oppressive taxes, and to exact from the government the right to be tried by their own laws.

It was in Flanders, however, that the peculiar Scottish mercantile institution was found. This was the Staple, which, after a peripatetic existence, finally settled in the town of Campvere. All trade between Scotland and the Low Countries in the specified staple goods (the main articles of commerce) had to pass through the Staple, which was under the management of the Convention of Royal Burghs. In this respect, it was quite distinct from the English Staple, which was simply a convenient way of collecting the customs, a piece of government machinery. There was a Conservator of the Staple, who saw that the staple law was enforced and had jurisdiction in disputes between the Scottish merchants; the business of the Staple was in the hands of factors, "gentlemen of the factory", who were chosen by the burghs.

Although the Staple was not controlled by the government, it had a definite place in the political organisation of the country as owning the monopoly of those articles of trade from which the customs revenue was derived. It remains, with the Convention of Royal Burghs which gave it birth, one of the most interesting Scottish contributions to the world's stock of political and economic experiments. With the extraordinary vitality shown by many institutions that have outlived their usefulness, the Staple existed until 1799; the (by then purely nominal) office of Conservator only ceased in 1847; in 1894 a Mr. Frater appeared before the General Assembly claiming to

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represent "the remanent congregation of the Scots Church at Campvere"; his claim was disallowed, but Campvere's name remains on the roll of the Assembly.

From Campvere came most of that finery with which the Scots decked themselves. One by one the foreigners who visited the country at this time display astonishment at the handsome and costly attire of the people, who dressed like noblemen even if they lived in hovels. The women wore the most attractive head-dress in Europe, were good-looking, frank but chaste, and mistresses in their own households.

Trade during James's reign grew rapidly; the neglected fisheries of the country were stimulated by an Act of Parliament enforcing the building and manning of fishing craft; against the pirates who haunted the Scottish seas vigorous war was made by a daring generation of seamen who found especial favour in the eyes of the king. Sir Andrew Wood of Largo was the greatest of these; in the second year of James's reign he captured five English pirate ships and the three vessels that Henry VII sent out to avenge the defeat. That celebrated Leith family of sailors, the Bartons, profitably combined trade, piracy, and legitimate operations under letters of marque.

One of James's dearest ambitions was to possess a fleet. He attracted French and Flemish shipwrights, built a dockyard at Our Lady's Port of Grace or Newhaven, and launched several vessels, including the famous *Great Michael*, the largest ship of the time. At most, James's navy did not consist of more than sixteen large and ten small ships; for the time, however, it was quite a formidable armada. The king's instinct in building it was right. Without a navy, Scotland was confined to the island of Britain, her part in politics would be determined by the amount of

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force England could spare for her northern frontier, her commerce was at the mercy of the North Sea pirates. In the age of Columbus the future of every nation lay upon the water. Twice James, with the aid of his navy, intervened in Scandinavian politics, and such demonstrations reminded the world of the existence of Scotland, a fact which from time to time the world has appeared to forget.

At home the king distinguished himself by the energy with which he put down disorder in the Highlands and the Border country. The Lordship of the Isles was brought to an end in 1493, but it was not until ten years had passed and the king had fought more than one campaign that the power of the local chiefs was at last broken. Responsibility for preserving the peace was handed over to the Earls of Huntly and Argyle. Islesmen and West Highlanders fought at Flodden.

The administration of justice was still conspicuously inefficient. James attended the justice-ayres faithfully and substituted a new court, the Daily Council, for the existing court known as the "Session."

In 1496 an Education Act was passed which provided that barons and freeholders were to send their eldest sons to grammar schools from the age of eight or nine until they had acquired "perfect Latyn". They were then to proceed to the "schools of art and law" where a three years' course would make them competent to administer justice in the court-baron or the sheriff court. In 1495 a papal bull was issued for the establishment of a university at Aberdeen. The King was an eager promoter of the new foundation but its real father was the famous Bishop Elphinstone who endowed the College of St. Mary, afterwards called King's College. Here the trivium (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic,

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geometry, music and astronomy) were taught, and, in addition, canon and civil law, theology, and—for the first time in Britain—medicine. The College of St. Leonards was added by Prior Hepburn to the original paedagogium at St. Andrews; a Seal of Cause was granted to the Guild of Surgeons and Barbers of Edinburgh, who were given a monopoly of the sale of aqua vitae and the right to obtain bodies for dissection. From this corporation the Royal College of Surgeons developed.

The sense of a new springing of intellectual and social life in Scotland does not rely upon the evidence of these events alone. In 1507 the first printing-press was set up in Scotland, Walter Chepman, an Edinburgh merchant, who had been a clerk in the office of the king's secretary, providing the money and Andrew Myllar the skill. Only two books are known to have been published by this first Scottish press; one of them included seven of the poems of Dunbar and the other was the Aberdeen Breviary, Bishop Elphinstone's adaptation of the Sarum Breviary for Scottish use.

A brief heroic sea-age, a spell of internal order, a striking growth of prosperity, a vigorous emergence of intellectual life,—already we have more than the makings of a vivid efflorescence of the national spirit quickened by the renaissance and guided by a ruler. But the chief glory of James's reign has still to be told. It is the first great age of Scottish literature. Between Barbour and the late fifteenth century only one literary figure of any rank occurs, the author of the *King's Quair*, James I, with whom the influence of Chaucer first came to Scotland. The *Quair* is an accomplished poem; it displays the impact of a fresh and novel experience in literature rather than in life; it is influenced rather than inspired.

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But with Robert Henryson, a schoolmaster of Dunfermline (who was dead by 1506) we enter a new realm of poetry. Here the Chaucerian tradition lives on, but it has found new moods and a new master. It is as absurd to put Henryson and the greater Dunbar into the pigeon-hole labelled "Chaucerian" as it would be to dismiss Chaucer as a "Petrarchan". The men of this time were Scottish poets, writing, it is true, in an English tongue and with English models before them. But they cannot persuade us to believe that they are anything but Scottish: the note, the final essence escaping analysis of Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* is profoundly and unanswerably different from the poem of Chaucer's to which it is a sequel. Its very intensity is utterly un-English; we must conclude that it is as Scottish as are Dunbar's subdued moral absorptions and troubled spiritual core. A portrait from a narrative poem by Dunbar placed beside one from the *Canterbury Tales* is as a figure from Breughel set beside one by Hogarth. The poetry of this Scotland was Scottish poetry and no apprehension of its peculiar qualities can be attained while it is tacked on to a foreign school. Henryson and Dunbar—like Burns—decline to be "placed" in English categories.

William Dunbar is probably the most distinguished graduate of St. Andrews. He was a Franciscan friar who entered James's service and became his pensioned court poet. Perhaps he fell at Flodden. Of his poems, *The Thistle and the Rose* celebrates his royal master's wedding with graceful and exquisitely worked garlands of verse, the *Seven Deadly Sins* paints its pictures with a lurid power, *The Golden Targe* is the conventional "rhetoric" of the age, done with an unusual sense of style. A greater poem in a minor

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key, the *Lament for the Makars*, contrasts with the full-blooded joviality of the *Ballad of Kind Kittock*. In the narrative poem, *The Twa Maryit Wemen and the Wedo*, satire is muted to a sombre irony, and sensuality comes without its passport, good humour; the characterisation is sure and subtle. An anti-clerical cleric, a deeply religious individual brooding upon a far-from-perfect world, ambitious and disappointed, passionate and melancholy, Dunbar is the most serious and intellectual of the Scottish poets.

Beside him, Gawain Douglas, translator of the *Aeneid* (with prologues of his own prefacing each book) and the first writer to call the language he used Scots and not English, appears but as an accomplished craftsman in verse. Walter Kennedy, a lesser ornament of the age, is remembered chiefly because of the *Flyting*, or interchange of rhymed Billingsgate, between him and Dunbar. Blind Harry, still alive in 1492, does not properly belong to this new sophisticated school of poetry; his epic *Sir William Wallace*, is popular, patriotic, and indignant. In folk-literature, its true category, it occupies a place by no means despicable.

The two leading scholars of the time reflect the age's dual aspect. John Major of St. Andrews, as a schoolman pure and simple, came under the boisterous lash of Rabelais. Hector Boece, first principal of Aberdeen University, is a man of the Renaissance, a friend of Erasmus, a good latinist and the author of an amusing and imaginative history of the Scots. The New Learning came direct from Paris; at this time Scotland was not dependent for its stock of ideas on what could filter to it through England. In the Universities might be heard the echoes of disputes in the lecture halls of Paris,—disputes that were in the end to break the Church in two

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But for a time the old bottles seemed to hold the new wine securely enough.

In an age of secular preoccupation the Church did not maintain even such purity as it had previously possessed. James III had inaugurated an intensified period of corruption and his son followed the example. The king's brother, not yet twenty-one, became Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland; he was followed in his see by the King's bastard son, Alexander Stewart, a brilliant boy of twelve, whom Erasmus tutored and whose untimely death he regretted in a fine phrase. The noble families were not behind their kings in the lucrative business of despoiling the Church. One see had a dynasty of Gordons; in others Hepburn followed Hepburn, or Stewart Stewart. Jobbery, corruption, open immorality, vast wealth perverted from its proper use, here were the makings of a revolution. But the revolution was not yet. The outstanding event in the ecclesiastical history of the reign is not any protest against the decay of the Church but the erection of Glasgow into an Archbishopric—though not into a primatial see.

It is easy to blame James for the English policy which led to the great tragedy of his reign; it is easy to see him simply as Don Quixote wearing a crown and tilting at the windmills. If the late spring of civilisation in Scotland were not to be blighted by frost there must be peace on the border, security for farming and commerce and the arts. War with the stronger southern neighbour meant inevitable reaction, a throw-back to the bad old days. Even at the price of swallowing some insults and overlooking some provocations peace would have been worth while. But James was a creature of moods, immensely proud and quick-tempered; in any case he is scarcely to be blamed for

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failing to unlearn in a year or two the tradition of two centuries. He had more than slights to disregard. Throughout the whole of his reign English gold was reaching disgruntled nobles who had inherited opposition to the Scottish crown.

It seemed at first that his marriage to Henry VII's daughter, Margaret Tudor, had opened a new era of friendship between the two banks of the river Tweed. James's boyish espousal of Perkin Warbeck's cause was past and done with; in the wild Border country English and Scottish authorities co-operated to put down the freebooters who annoyed both of them. Friction on the border and at sea came later but these would not have in themselves led to war. But Henry VIII's adventurous foreign policy was directed against France and Flodden was fought as a flank attack in a Franco-English conflict. James might have remained neutral; he preferred to play the chivalrous knight, not the calculating statesman, to be led by rhetoric about the "auld alliance." It was generous, sentimental, and insane. England argued and the Pope (another member of the league against France) pled, threats and an excommunication were despatched, but James looked as his fine new ships and his lovely cannon, and his vanity succumbed to the prospect of astonishing Europe by the rescue of France from the ring of her enemies.

And so the whips cracked as the twenty-oxen teams dragged the gun-carts slowly southward, and in Edinburgh they made banners in haste for the army that wound over the hills to the Tweed and the tragedy that lay beyond it. And at Flodden we lost a civilization and gained a song.

X

“ FIE, FIE, ALL IS GONE ! ”

THE disaster of Flodden was something more than the defeat of an army ; it was the death-knell of a vivid and attractive national life which was burgeoning forth in a score of new places and which, in the great religious conflict that lay ahead, would have saved Scotland from a raw antithesis of ideas, a grim choice of bigotries, and carried over into the new age some grace from the old. The king was killed, a minor was on the throne, a weakened central government was frustrated and finally defied by treacherous nobles in the pay of a foreign power—once again we are plunged back into the old turmoil of feuds and leagues among the great families, of wars private and sanguinary. James's navy died still-born before it had fought a battle, the court dwindled again into the centre of a web of intrigues, the note of desperation returned, the sense among men that they lived in a beleaguered city whose wall was broken down.

But it was not the same as before. There was a new thing in the air that gives the time—at least to us who look back—a strange air of impermanence and half-heartedness. The old world was not going down gracefully to the tomb ; its last rites were being muttered hurriedly ; soon it would be huddled away. James V seems to have shared that feeling of hopelessness. When they brought him the news that a daughter was born to him, “ It came with a lass (the throne, he meant) ; it will pass with a lass,” he said and then he

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“gave a little smile of laughter, syne kissed his hand and offered the same to all his lords round about him and thereafter held up his hands to God and yielded the spirit.”

It was only four years after Flodden, in 1517, that the German monk, Martin Luther, nailed his theses to the door of the church of Wittenburg and gave the signal for battle.

In Scotland as in the rest of Northern Europe, the Reformation is the cardinal historical fact, in Scotland more so than in most countries, for nowhere was the victory of the new spirit more complete, nowhere was continuity more utterly broken, and nowhere did the religious revolution unlock so many doors and set the impulses of the nation streaming along so many new channels. It is for this reason that the old Catholic Scotland is curiously remote and archaic to a modern Scotsman; it does not appear so much like a portion of the past as like something that was dreamed of long ago, so unreal it is and so unrelated to our present. Yet if the cleavage was deeper in Scotland it also came later. James V died in 1542 the king of a Catholic country, in which there had been not the slightest sign of a resolution to break away from the old church. But by this time half Germany and all Scandinavia were Protestant; England was cut off from Rome; Zwingli had gained Zurich for the Reformation and Calvin was settled firmly in Geneva. The Scottish Reformation is an episode of the European Counter Reformation.

During James's minority of eleven years his father's cousin, the Duke of Albany, a Gallicized Scotsman who brought the first troupe of professional actors into the country, guided Scottish policy in the interests of France. There were French guards in Holyrood and French garrisons in Scottish castles. But Albany's

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invasion of England, in which a young student named George Buchanan served, was a failure and English armies laid southern Scotland waste. As usual, French diversions were costly to the Scots. The wandering affections of the Queen-Mother, English spies and an extensive network of English bribery, the rivalries of the noble houses of Douglas and Hamilton, contributed to the confusion of the time.

The Douglas faction kept the young king in custody—in prison—and by that fact were masters of the situation until 1528, when he escaped their clutches. Within a year the great family was ruined. In restoring order to the country James made many bitter enmities among his nobles, which his English uncle's money kept alight. About him were constant plots and espionages which seem to have affected his nerves and his constitution alike. When the last betrayal of the bought nobility led to the disgraceful rout of Solway Moss, James could live no longer.

Two events of his reign are worth noting. The first was the final pacification of the Western Islands; the second, the setting up in 1532 of the College of Justice. This was the ultimate issue of judicial experiments which had been carried on for more than a century. The authority of this supreme court for civil cases—the Court of Session, as it came to be called—was delegated to it by Parliament. It was incorporated by a papal bull and was composed of fourteen senators, “cunning and wise men”, nominees of the Crown, seven lay and seven spiritual, with a president who was always to be a churchman.

Though James died the king of a Catholic land, the Reformation is, as it was bound to be, the dominating fact of his reign. There was probably no province of the Catholic Church where it had fallen so far into an

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intolerable corruption as in Scotland. We do not go to Protestant sources for our information. To begin with, the Church was incredibly and monstrously wealthy. Cardinal Sermonetta reported to the Pope in 1556 that it owned almost one-half of the whole revenue of the kingdom and that the unbridled license of the clergy was due to their too-great wealth. Even when it is understood that one-half is here a proportion of the surplus wealth of the country paid as rents, after the people's necessities of life had been provided for, the resources of the ecclesiastical establishment remain colossal. Vast as the wealth of the Church was in England, it did not approach this scale. It is doubtful if any land in Christendom paid as dearly for its Church as Scotland did.

The corruption was on a commensurate scale. In 1533 an Archdeacon of Moray confessed that ecclesiastical endowments brought “no less damage of common weal than of perdition of good religion”. Great portions of the Church revenues went to the support of absentee clerics living in France or Italy. The prelates and higher clergy indulged in a riot of plurality. The “appropriation” of parishes to monasteries and bishoprics led to the installing of under-paid and ill-educated vicars while the parish dues went to the abbot, the bishop, or the nobleman who had obtained the revenues of the priory. At the Reformation six hundred cures were served by monastic or episcopal vicars; only two hundred and sixty-two had retained their parsons. The parochial system was practically destroyed. As seats of learning and lamps of the faith the monasteries did not exist. Their endowments were going into the coffers of lay or clerical pensionaries; some of them were in ruins; Abbot Myln reported in the beginning of the sixteenth

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century that men of learning had almost disappeared from the monasteries.

Clerical licentiousness had grown to amazing proportions, unparalleled in Europe. One Cardinal Archbishop was the proud father of nine children; another bishop had ten, each of whom had a different mother. When the Chapter of Aberdeen implored its bishop to take action against the excesses of the diocesan clergy it found it necessary to advise him to set an example "in special in removing the gentlewoman by whom he is greatly slandered".

Naturally, those men, who "hardly know the order of the alphabet," did not exert themselves unduly in the instruction of their flocks. In many parish churches no sermon was heard from one year to another; a Provincial Council of 1549 enacted that bishops and rectors were to preach at least four times a year. It is doubtful, however, whether the average clergyman, even if he wished to do his duty by his people, possessed the education to do so. The council of 1549 said: "There appear to have been mainly two causes and roots of evil which have stirred up among us so great discussions and occasions of heresies, to wit, the corruption of morals and profane lewdness of life in churchmen of almost all ranks, together with crass ignorance of literature and all the liberal arts."

Since James III put his own nominee into the Abbacy of Dunfermline by appealing successfully to Rome over the heads of the monks, the alienation of church revenues had grown until it reached a vast proportions. A fat priory was the prize that kept many a hungry younger son lounging elegantly at court; baby abbots and rectors enabled their parents to draw pleasant church incomes; needy barons married the daughters of rich prelates for their

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dowries. Here again Scotland had a deplorable primacy in Christendom.

Yet there was no zeal for the new religious doctrines. The mood was one of contemptuous but on the whole passive anti-clericalism. Dunbar was a scornful witness of clerical immorality :

Sic pryde with Prelatis, so few till preiche and pray,
Sic hant of harlottis with thame, baith nicht and day.

His own failure to get preferment drew a gibe at the manner in which clerical endowments were bartered :

Jok that wes wont to keip the stirkis,
Can now draw him ane cleik (handful) of kirkis,
With ane fals cairt (card) into his sleif.

But it was Sir David Lindsay, James V's friend and the most important poet of his time, who stated with overwhelming force and humour the ordinary man's disgust with the Church. His ferocious *Satire of the Three Estates* was acted before the King and the court on the feast of the Epiphany, 1540, without bringing its author to the punishment to which he had certainly made himself liable. James himself, who protected George Buchanan from his clerical enemies, put into a sentence what was in the minds of most honest men in the Church or outside it : “The good may be suffered and the evil must be reformed.”

The atrocious corruption of the Church is in itself an explanation of the remarkable slowness with which the new doctrines emerging from the Continental ferment infected Scotland, as it is also an explanation of the completeness of their final triumph. Men were not going to waste their breath on controversy about grace and atonement and transubstantiation while there was something else to claim their attention so

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glaring and flagrant as the condition of the Church itself. The sixteenth century Scotsman was not a theologian. But, all the same, men were beginning to read Lutheran and Lollard polemics. A few years after Flodden an Ayrshire Lollard made a Scottish version of Wycliffe's Bible; Tyndale's New Testament was found as early as 1526. Into the Eastern seaports returning sailors brought heretical books and pamphlets from Dantzic and the Low Countries. In Dundee especially, and to a less extent in Edinburgh and Leith, this stream of propaganda had some effect. But, on the whole, the number of heretics was insignificant.

At the death of James V the chief elements in the situation were: the rich, corrupted, and negligent Church; the mass of the nation, anti-clerical, irreligious, and steadily veering towards active hatred of the Church; the small but ardent minority of lairds and burgesses who rejected the Church's teaching. A fourth element came into existence after 1534. In that year Henry VIII broke with Rome and taught the Scottish nobility a lesson which they were the last people in the world to disdain: the Church could be plundered in the name of reformation. Considerable as the lay alienations had been, there was still enough wealth in ecclesiastical hands to provide a tempting booty. When the nobles had grasped the full implications of events in England a definite motive for religious revolution was created.

As it is, two things have to be noted: the comparative bloodlessness of the Reformation, and the extraordinarily feeble resistance of the Church. The rotten branch fell with scarcely a sound of breaking.

At this time more than at any other the destiny of Scotland was influenced by events happening far

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beyond its borders. It was so with every nation. A deadly quarrel split Christendom in two. Ideas, opinions, beliefs, propaganda became facts in politics which statesmen must consider in addition to the common-place problems of territorial ambition and dynastic rivalry. It became as important to know what your neighbour believed as to know how strong a force he could put into the field and whether he was friendly or otherwise. Scotland, coming late into the religious debate, was the subject of embarrassing solicitude on the part of other powers. England, for example, could not be indifferent to the theological views prevailing to the north of the Tweed. A Catholic Scotland must be hostile, might become the spearhead of a Papal attack. It was certain that she would be the pivot of Catholic policy in Europe. Add to these perplexities the further complication that a marriage had united the blood of the reigning houses of Scotland and England, and the broad lines of the situation are clear. A Catholic sovereign in Scotland was in the eyes of Catholic diplomacy the potential supplanter of a Protestant sovereign in England ; a Catholic queen of Scotland was to have in Catholic eyes a better right to the throne of England than the woman who sat on it.

At the death of James V, circumstances were supremely favourable to English policy. The King was succeeded by his infant daughter, Mary ; a long regency was clearly in prospect in which one faction could be played off against another and English money might weigh down the scales. Henry VIII hoped to marry his son Edward to the Scottish queen. Scotland had just suffered the most ignominious of her defeats ; the nobles who had been taken prisoners at Solway Moss could be released and their devotion secured by

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hostages and stimulated by bribery. At first all went smoothly enough: a marriage treaty was concluded at Greenwich, and, significant fact, the Scottish Parliament, controlled by the Anglophile party, passed an act permitting the general use of the vernacular Bible.

But the Catholic party was led by one of the greatest men of affairs in Scottish history, the brilliant Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; Henry relied on the Regent Arran, a poor creature who was heir presumptive to the throne. Beaton moved subtly. At his suggestion, the Earl of Lennox, who like Arran was descended from a daughter of James III, was allowed to return to Scotland. The Cardinal had now a weapon against the Regent, who could plausibly be declared illegitimate by the Church and set aside in Lennox's favour. His next stroke was to raise a Catholic army and remove the queen from Arran's custody. Arran gave up the struggle, was reconciled to the Church, surrendered the chief castles to Beaton, and accepted the direction of a council composed mainly of adherents of the Church party. The marriage-treaty with England was disavowed; a brisk campaign against heresy opened, especially in Dundee and Perth; the traditional bonds of friendship with France were renewed.

Undoubtedly, Beaton had the bulk of the nation with him: few cared much about religion but many were fanatically opposed to an association with England. A ebullition of Tudor ill-temper embittered that hostility. The Earl of Hertford with an army, chosen deliberately for its ruthlessness, and containing Irish, Greek, Spanish, French and Italian mercenaries, devastated the rich southern counties of Scotland in 1544, and again and more thoroughly in the following

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year. Edinburgh, Leith, Haddington and two hundred and forty-three villages were burnt; the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh and Coldingham were laid in ruins. Bibles were distributed to console those who had seen their homes destroyed. By these atrocious expeditions Henry ensured the defeat of his own policy.

Meanwhile the campaign against heresy claimed a notable victim. When the Lutheran, Patrick Hamilton, a great-grandson of James II, was burned at the stake in 1528, Beaton was warned that the death of a man of such distinguished family would have untoward results in easy-going, tolerant Scotland. He had made a martyr instead of an example; actually, it appeared, there were men who took their religion seriously. “The reik of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon.” Now the Calvinist preacher, George Wishart, was laid by the heels, tried and strangled and his body burned. Wishart had invited his fate. He went about preaching openly, and before him marched a slight young man carrying a two-handed sword. This youth was named John Knox.

But the English party had still a card to play. The Cardinal's death had already been solemnly approved by the English Privy Council. He was to be murdered. Two years earlier, before Hertford's first descent on Scotland, the first overtures from a desperate group of Scottish Protestant lairds had reached London. Three months after Wishart's death the deed was done. A band of men surprised Beaton in his castle at St. Andrews and stabbed him to death. His last words, “Fie, fie, all is gone,” are the despairing farewell of Catholic Scotland. His murderers were men of good family whose later careers are distinguished and

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honourable. In their eyes the brutal business was evidently an act of justice, a surgical operation ; they invoked Wishart's death as their warrant. The popular view is summarised in the rhyme :—

Although the loon was well away,
The deed was foully done.

Beaton's assassins—reinforced to a hundred and fifty men in all—held St. Andrews Castle against the government troops for more than a year. A French fleet with soldiers and artillery under Leo Strozzi, a knight of Rhodes and Prior of Capua, ended the siege with a six hours' bombardment. The garrison was sent to the galleys in France. Among the deportees was John Knox, who had taken refuge in the castle when his preaching had brought him embarrassingly under the notice of the authorities.

XI

A VOICE FROM GENEVA

IN Scotland, where events had for long moved with leaden foot, they now moved swiftly.

Henry VIII had died ; Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, was Lord Protector of England in the minority of Edward VI, and continued the grim stupidity of his dead master's Scottish policy. The obstinate land was to be made to realise that it must choose between England and France ; and to make the choice easier an English army marched north to invade it.

Defeated at Pinkie, with English garrisons in strong places at the mouths of the Forth and Tay, and an English fortified camp established at Haddington, the Scots acted as a wiser man than Somerset might have foreseen. They sent their little queen—the object of this rough courtship—to France, made a marriage treaty for her with the Dauphin, and brought in 8,000 French troops who after a long siege starved the English garrison out of the camp of Haddington. A French woman of the great Catholic family of the Guises, Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Mother, now became Regent of Scotland, Arran, who had been only nominally regent, receiving the French dukedom of Chatelherhault as the price of his acquiescence. Frenchmen were soon installed in high offices, even in that of the Chancellor ; a legal quibble about the age of the young queen, politically of some importance, was decided by appeal to the Parlement of Paris ; Scotland was reduced to a

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status little higher than that of a province of France, its policy dictated by French requirements. And so the national *amour-propre*, hitherto enlisted against England and on the side of Catholicism, now found itself in the same camp as the Protestants.

The doctrines of the Reformation were steadily gaining ground. Rough jingles satirising the clergy were being sung in the streets ; the Estates legislated vainly against the printers of “ ballads, songs, blasphemous rhymes ” ridiculing the Church. Bawdy old ditties were fitted with new words appropriate to the hour, the celebrated collection known as the *Gude and Godly Ballatis*, the work of the Wedderburn brothers of Dundee, containing the best (if that adjective can be used) examples of the style of poetry which caught the fancy of the age :—

The Paip, that pagane full of pryde,
He has us blindit lang ;
For quhair the blind the blind does gyde
No wonder they ga wrang :
Like prince and King he led the ring
Of all iniquitie.
Hay trix, tryme go trix
Under the grene-wod tree.

The Church, roused at last and under a metropolitan, Archbishop Hamilton, who was fully aware of the nature of the evil, although no more free than his predecessor from fleshly weaknesses, burned a few heretics and sought to put its house in order. An entirely admirable exposition of Catholic doctrine, though curiously tinged with the Lutheran teaching on Grace, called Archbishop Hamilton’s Catechism, was published. The directions given by the Provincial Council for the use of this attractive compendium are revealing : no parson

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was to read it in church unless he could do so without stumbling. Silence was better than an exposure of clerical illiteracy. To improve the education of the clergy an earlier Council had made provision for "teaching by more worthy masters"; Ninian Winzett, a zealous and respectable scholar, was appointed to the grammar school of Linlithgow; the archbishop endowed St. Mary's College at St. Andrews University as a training school for priests; each monastery was ordered to maintain at least one monk at the University.

All this sincere and fine endeavour was to be swept away and lost for ever. The Church's eyes had been opened too late. But at least it should be remembered in justice to the ancient Church that its last act was not a cruel and ineffective repression but an honest attempt to make amends. And to the very last the Church was building. In 1544—only sixteen years before the final catastrophe—the Cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall was restored by Bishop Reid and its chapter re-erected.

For five years after 1553 England had a Catholic queen, Mary Tudor. The Marian persecution drove many English Protestants to seek refuge in Scotland; sparks from Smithfield fires fell in the northern heather. Politics, too, fought for the reformers. Spain and England were united by a royal marriage; France must, therefore, bind Scotland more closely to her, must, above all, avoid stirring up the hostility of any class. Necessity dictated a policy of tolerance towards heretics. But all this was merely designed as a step towards making Scotland the more obedient and useful instrument of French intrigues. Here Scottish resentment flared up; the nobles declined to lead their vassals into England at the Regent's

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bidding and in France's need ; Parliament rejected the proposal to set up a standing army.

In 1557 the Protestant party challenged the government. Styling themselves the Lords of the Congregation, they signed a covenant binding themselves to "establish the most blessed word of God," and "to forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan," in other words to set up a national Protestant Church.

Mary Stuart was by this time married to the Dauphin in Notre Dame, having signed a secret agreement giving Scotland as a free gift to the French king in the event of her dying without heirs. Elizabeth Tudor later in this same year (1558) became Queen of England. With these events the drama moves into its second act.

In the eyes of the Catholics in England and elsewhere Elizabeth was an illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII, and Mary Stuart was therefore the rightful queen of England. This fact, which made Elizabeth a Protestant, gave her also a vivid personal interest in the religious quarrel in Scotland. Mary quartered the arms of England on her shield ; Elizabeth, already uneasy enough on her throne, was confronted by the disquieting prospect of having on her northern borders a rival, the Catholic queen of a Catholic country, who was, for the great powers of Europe and for a great party in England, the heiress of the English crown. Every threat of war or treason against Elizabeth or against Protestantism in England must inevitably bear some relation to the Scottish queen. Elizabeth's single resource was the Protestant group of Scottish lairds and nobles and the Protestant agitation in the Scottish burghs. If Scotland were won for the Reform or split by a sanguinary civil war, Elizabeth was safe.

The Reformation in Scotland was brought about

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because of the doubtful state of Elizabeth's birth-certificate. It was a skirmish between French and English troops fought on Scottish soil with all but a handful of the Scots looking on.

The insurgent Protestant nobles with their amateur armies of country yokels and craftsmen, whom business called back to the plough or the workshop at the end of a few weeks' service, were not a match for the Regent and the seasoned mercenaries she imported from France. But on the other hand there were not enough French troops to hold all Scotland. With their base in the fortified seaport of Leith the most that they could do was to make hazardous sallies into the districts—Clydesdale and Fife—held by the Congregation. In the deadlock, English intervention was decisive.

An English flotilla saved St. Andrews,—strangely transformed from the ecclesiastical capital of Catholic Scotland into the headquarters of Protestant rebels,—from French troops. An English army of 9,000 men united in April, 1560, with a Scottish army of the same size in the siege of Leith, whose ramparts were manned by 4,000 Frenchmen. The town was never taken, other factors decided the struggle. The Regent died and the Guises found that they needed all their soldiers in France. In June peace was made; the French left the country and the fortifications of Leith were razed. With its walls the Catholic Church fell also.

Quite apart from the military happenings which made the Protestants the dominant party, the preachers of the new doctrines had been carrying on an intensified propaganda, in which the most potent force was the great orator, John Knox, once George Wishart's swordsman, now a trumpet blast calling men to revolution. Enflamed by his rhetoric, a rabble of hooligans,—“the rascal multitude” as he somewhat

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hypocritically called them,—sacked the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries and Charterhouse Abbey at Perth, the Abbey of Scone, the Cathedral of St. Andrews, and the monasteries of Lindores and Balmerino, the churches of Linlithgow and Stirling and other religious buildings. These disgusting exhibitions of mob violence had little or nothing to do with religious fervour. They testified to the contempt into which the old Church had fallen, the gulf that separated it from the people, rather than to the appeal made by the new teaching. They have, however, contrived to give the Scottish Reformation the air of a popular uprising, the work of a roused and indignant people. But there were still many more Catholics than Protestants in Scotland.

Once it seemed that the voice of the people spoke unmistakably, dramatically. On the first of January, 1559, a mysterious document was found placarded on the doors of every religious house in Scotland. It was known as the "Beggars' Summons" and addressed from "The blind, crooked, lame, widows, orphans and all other poor visited by the hand of God as may not work, to the flocks of all friars within this realm." It accused the clergy of converting to their own uses the hospitals which had been established for the benefit of the poor. It warned them to "remove forth of our said hospitals, betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next" or be ejected from them by force. This remarkable document is clearly the work of a group of Protestant agitators; it did not come from the poor but was addressed to them.

It is a reminder that there was an economic side to the Reformation, apart altogether from the impatient greed of the great landowners, that the existence of an idle, grasping, and luxurious class in the community

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was a perpetual provocation made still sharper by the contrast between the poverty and chastity to which its members were vowed and the riches and license which they flaunted. In so far as the Reformation in its early stages was a popular movement it was a social and economic revolution rather than a religious manifestation.

In the Parliament which met after the siege of Leith it soon became evident to what extent hatred of French domination and the cynical selfishness of French policy had played into the hands of the Protestants. It also became plain that the new doctrines had found their staunchest converts in a class which had never yet played a great part in Scottish affairs, the smaller landowners, the lairds. These men had never taken advantage of their right to sit in Parliament; James I's still-born act to institute county elections had been designed to improve the attendance of the lairds—the barons—without whose presence Parliament could be nothing better than the obedient instrument of the ruling noble faction. For seventy years before this Parliament of 1560 only a handful of lairds had ever attended a meeting of the Estates and then only on a special summons. But now 110 of them appeared, with many other freeholders of lower status. The Parliament of 1560 was, numerically, the most imposing legislative assembly that ever sat in Scotland. Its work was still more imposing, however.

The ancient Church and the Pope's jurisdiction were abolished, the Mass was prohibited, all doctrines and practises contrary to the new faith were condemned. By three acts passed in one day this revolution was achieved. The slate was wiped clean. And what was to be written thereon?

Already Knox and his coadjutors had been at work;

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the Confession of Faith was the result of their labours. This astonishing report, produced at the invitation of the Parliament, was a complete and impressive statement of the beliefs of the Reformers touching the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Its main source was the "Institutio" of Calvin, for Knox, after an early flirtation with Lutheranism, had come under the influence of the great dictator of Geneva. Luther's teaching had never kindled an answering spark in the Scots; Calvin's relentless logic struck a chord in them which had never vibrated before; it was to become the greatest single influence for good and ill that operated on the mind of this people, that caught them and wrought them at the supremely malleable moment of their history, and left an impress on them which three centuries have not been able to erase. The Reformation was not, when this Parliament sat, a popular thing, yet it was already a revolution, a complete destruction and a complete re-building. It is, therefore, one of the main factors which have brought about that profound and elusive differentiation between the Scottish people and their neighbours of the same island and the same speech. Scotland has had a revolution; England has only had compromises.

Scotland took her new creed and system of church government from a Frenchman's book, but in Scotland alone has that system survived as a vigorous ecclesiastical polity and ground-plan of a national Church. It did so because it made some subtle appeal to the new solid middle class whose rise to power coincided with the Reformation, and because its apostle was a man of amazing fire and magnetism. John Knox himself belonging to the middle class, he was the first, and as it turned out, the greatest political leader that

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class threw up. He had been a priest ; he had been captured by the new doctrines in their crudest, hardest, and most dogmatic form when past the prime of life ; intensely egotistical and entirely courageous, he played Lenin to Calvin's Marx. Yet he was not a theologian and not a scholar. His vast power upon Scotland proceeded just from the fact that he knew exactly what he wanted and drove straight at it with all the force of a powerful will, permitting neither politic considerations, common-sense, nor, least of all, Christian charity, to impede him.

The Confession of Faith is an exposition of the Calvinist creed under twenty-five heads ; the Kirk was to be known, among other signs, by " ecclesiastical discipline rightly ministered."

What this meant in Knox's eyes was revealed by the First Book of Discipline, laid before the Parliament of the following year (1561). Though this book does not assert the equality of all ranks of clergymen, it refuses to admit that bishops are superior to presbyters ; the government of the Church was to be in the hands of an Assembly of ministers and delegates from congregations ; but there were also to be superintendents in charge of twelve provinces corresponding roughly to the old dioceses. These superintendents hint at a modification of the pure Presbyterian system ; Knox, after all, had nearly become an English bishop ; before long, three of the Scottish bishops of the old Church were to be found exercising the office of superintendent.

The First Book of Discipline was not accepted by Parliament ; the Reformers had split on a question of finance. The Book claimed for the new Kirk the full patrimony of the Church ; a proposal to which the lay holders of benefices, that is, most of the nobles and landowners, could not listen without alarm. Many of

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them had taken the opportunity created by the troubles to obtain lands from prelates on condition of securing them in what was left to them. And there was also the old clergy. Had the Reformation been the ruthless and fanatical upsurging which it is so often supposed, there would have been scant consideration given to those discredited priests of an extirpated Church. But in fact the old clergy were allowed to keep their benefices on consideration of paying the stipends of the Protestant ministers appointed to their districts. This remarkable leniency, which goes far to explain the total and suspicious absence of a Catholic reaction in the ecclesiastical as distinct from the political sense, was probably not unconnected with the fact that at this hour of Protestant triumph, the greater part of the Scottish people was still Catholic.

So far as the Protestant clergy were concerned this financial arrangement was wholly unsatisfactory; the preachers were dependant in practice upon the charity of their patrons or congregations. Later in the year, the Privy Council put a tax of one-third on Church property and divided it equally between the Queen and the ministers; one-third "divided between God and the Devil," said Knox. Meanwhile, the old clergy lived in comfortable retirement and the nobles quietly rifled the till. The second General Assembly revealed that there was a deepening rift in the Protestant lute; the nobles declined to attend it. In Knox and his theory of a democratic Church government they detected danger not only to their pillage of the Church but also to the whole structure of society.

In the same year, 1561, Knox encountered yet another stumbling block in his way. In effect, Presbytery was a theocratic republic, for there was no matter of state which the ministers could not claim,

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and did not claim, as the concern of God's Kirk. But on the 19th of August a boat touched the quay at Leith and Mary Stewart stood in the grey morning mist on Scottish soil. They sang psalms and scraped fiddles for her outside Holyrood that night, to the intense annoyance of the great Brantôme, who was in the Queen's suite. Scotland had a queen once more in this lovely widow of nineteen who had been Queen of France. But what place could be found for a queen in the complete and perfect structure of the Presbyterian theocracy?

As it happened, the question did not arise. Mary was a Catholic queen in an officially Protestant country and was therefore a startling anomaly in the Europe of that time. She made no attempt to restore Catholicism, if for no other reason, because she never had enough power to attempt it. Her reign is an inconsequent interlude, deriving a quite unwarranted importance from the brilliance of the queen's gifts, her beauty, her subtle and fascinating personality, her passion, her tragic fate.

At first she put herself in the hands of a group of men of whom the most notable were her bastard brother, Lord James Stewart, and the astute diplomatist, Maitland of Lethington, "the chief of the wits of Scotland", as Queen Elizabeth called him. It was among this group that there arose the conception of a union with England based upon a common Protestantism, and a recognition by Elizabeth of Mary as her successor. They believed that Mary would be willing to sacrifice her Catholicism to obtain such a prize: England was worth the loss of a mass. The project split on the rock of Elizabeth's refusal to name Mary her successor; to set her own winding-sheet before her eyes, as she grimly described it. Its

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wreckage was blown away and forgotten in the matrimonial adventures on which Mary embarked of her own volition.

Like many clever women of highly-tuned sexual instincts she bungled in her choice of a husband. Passion obscured intellect—that hard, clear, gem-like intellect which makes Mary rather a being out of Italy of the Renaissance than out of sixteenth century Scotland—to such an extent that she married her cousin, Lord Darnley, a vicious and arrogant fool. The marriage might have been accounted a shrewd stroke of policy, for it had united two lines of claimants to the heritage of Margaret Tudor's descendants ; its offspring would have a double pretension to the English throne. But Darnley was not only a fool ; he was a jealous and murderous fool. He saw his wife's affections cooling ; sulked because she did not bestow the crown matrimonial upon him ; and suspected her relations with her Italian secretary, the musician, David Riccio, who now became in practice the queen's first minister.

For the Protestant lords had been overthrown. Their popularity had suffered an eclipse even among the Presbyterian ministers ; the queen's charm had won over many to her. Lord James Stewart, now Earl of Moray, was outlawed and an exile in England. Darnley's mad jealousy of Riccio was used by the Protestant faction as an instrument to bring them back to power. The Italian was murdered in Holyrood as the outcome of a plot in which Darnley on the one hand and Moray and his allies on the other took part. But immediately after the murder Darnley deserted his fellow-conspirators. Three months later Mary gave birth to a son.

For a few months there was an uneasy armistice

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between husband and wife. Then the queen succumbed to the great passion of her life. Its object was a stormy and reckless young man of great power, James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell and Warden of the Borders. This man was an avowed enemy of Moray, who had sent him into an exile from which Mary recalled him at the time of her trial of strength with her half-brother. Bothwell was speedily advanced to high and open favour ; though a Protestant, it was he, and not the wretched Darnley, who arranged the Catholic baptism ceremony of Mary's infant son. The shadows began to close round the queen's husband. The men whom he had conspired with to remove Riccio and had then abandoned began to drift back to Scotland.

Darnley took ill in Glasgow not long after the baptism of his son. Mary visited him and insisted that he should be brought to Edinburgh and lodged in the Kirk of Field. The queen nursed him with tender and assiduous care. A few nights after his arrival the house was blown up and Darnley's dead body was found in a garden. Bothwell, universally suspected of the crime, gave a supper to the more important of the nobility in Ainslie's Tavern in Edinburgh, surrounded the place with two hundred armed men, and obtained signatures to a document expressing conviction of his innocence.

Darnley's death occurred on the 9th February, 1567 ; on the 24th April Bothwell took Mary to Dunbar Castle ; on May 7th he obtained a divorce from his wife, and on May 15th he and Mary were married in the chapel at Holyrood.

These swift and outrageous events shocked the nation. Mary was considered to have married the murderer of her husband ; most people added to this

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the conviction that she had taken part in the murder plot. Catholics were revolted by the queen's marriage with a Protestant; the nobles were jealous of Bothwell's advancement; the Earl of Huntly was alienated by Bothwell's divorce from his sister; Darnley's death secured the enmity of the Lennox interests. Another factor contributed to make insurrection inevitable; Mary would in a short time reach her twenty-fifth birthday, a time at which by immemorial custom Scottish sovereigns revoked grants made during their minority and since regretted. The nobles who had fed fat on the lands of the Church saw their plunder imperilled.

At Carberry Hill outside Edinburgh Mary's forces met those of the insurgents. There was no fighting. Mary bade Bothwell fly and gave herself up. Under threats of death she abdicated the crown to her infant son, James. Moray became Regent.

For something less than a year the queen was held a close prisoner in Lochleven Castle. But among her captors the Hamilton faction were bitterly jealous of Moray; this gave her the means of escape. She rode to Hamilton Palace and in a day or two had the support of an army which contained nine bishops of the old Church, nine earls and eighteen lords. Now that Bothwell was out of the way—buccaneering among the Orkneys, whence he would soon be driven to a pirate's death in Norway—sympathy was on the whole with Mary. At the battle of Langside Moray fought a superior force—but met it with superior skill.

After her defeat, Mary took horse and crossed the English border to create for her cousin Elizabeth a problem and an embarrassment which only the stroke of an axe could free her. But that was nineteen years away.

XII

TWO KINGS IN SCOTLAND

If a historian of Scotland seems at times to repeat himself it is occasionally because his subject-matter is exercising its recognised privilege of repeating *itself*. Only the sheer necessity of mentioning a relevant fact drags from one the admission that Mary's flight had, once more, placed an infant on the Scottish throne. Between the death of Robert III and the time when this child called James VI took over the kingly functions there elapsed one hundred and seventy-two years during ninety-five of which a minor or an absentee wore the crown.

This extraordinary recurrence of an infantile paralysis in the political development of the country does much to explain its comparative failure to emerge from a patchwork of feudal lordships and feudal loyalties into an integrated and centralized monarchy. Even the religious struggle had been strongly tintured with a feudal ingredient. But the political genius of the Scots, which had already fashioned from the needs and opportunities of the time one unique institution, the Convention of Royal Burghs, now evolved another organ of wider scope and loftier pretensions.

On the whole, the rising middle class and the Lowland peasantry had been won over to the Calvinist Protestantism of Knox and his fellow-preachers. Public opinion for the first time became a powerful force in politics, created and shaped by the only instrument that existed capable of doing so, the pulpit,

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expressing itself through a hierarchy of representative bodies, each of which had a definite place and function in a complete, efficient, well-planned system of church government. Gradually the nature of the religious conflict changes. From a duel between Protestantism and Catholicism it becomes a trial of strength between the new Presbyterian system and the State.

Church and State, the power of the keys and the power of the sword, were each supreme in their own domains, which though conterminous never overlapped: such was the Presbyterian theory, never so forcibly expressed as by its ablest and most uncompromising exponent, Andrew Melville, to King James: "There is twa kings and twa kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the king and his kingdom the Church, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member."

In practice, however, there was no question of internal or foreign policy that was not liable to become the subject of criticism by the kirk demagogues in pulpit, presbytery, or assembly, that might not be assailed with the thunderbolts of Old Testament analogy. The State was bound to meet this challenge.

But, for a time, the Protestant ranks remained closed against the common enemy, Catholicism. Though Mary was now an English prisoner the final victory of the Reformers was by no means certain. That family jealousies could still be made to fight in religious quarrels was proved when the Regent Moray was shot dead in Linlithgow by a member of the house of Hamilton. Archbishop Hamilton was executed for his complicity in this murder, in which he had participated as a Hamilton and not as a Catholic prelate.

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Politics rather than religion supplies the key to the tortuous manœuvring of Maitland of Lethington, the subtlest statesman of the time, and a cultivated, brilliant creature to whom theology was a curious manifestation meriting only the polite and puzzled smile of a gentleman; his whole energies were given up to the vast project of uniting Scotland and England in one kingdom. When Mary's conduct had gravely damaged his hopes, he had taken sides with the Protestant lords against her. But now that she was gone he strove to bring her back, so that she would be divorced from Bothwell and married to the Duke of Norfolk, leader of the English Catholics. The change of front was perfectly logical: Elizabeth had declined to be persuaded by friendly means into recognising the Scottish succession to her throne; he must, therefore, seek to coerce her by restoring Mary and entering into association with the great Catholic powers, Spain especially.

In carrying out this design, Maitland came into conflict with the Protestant party for whom Mary's return meant ruin. He was arrested on a charge of having taken part in Darnley's murder; he escaped to Edinburgh Castle, which was held by the famous soldier, Kirkcaldy of Grange, for the Queen of Scots, until English artillery three years later battered its walls down. Maitland died soon after the surrender.

By that time the news of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, exploited to the full by Knox and the ministers, had sent a thrill of horror through the Scottish people; after that the cause of Catholicism and the queen had little chance. In the same year (1572) the first rumour of the split in the Protestant camp was heard. A Convention at Leith sought to settle the government of the Kirk on lines which showed

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that the Presbyterian battle was not won yet by any means. The ministers and the Protestant nobles were in opposite camps, though Knox, who had denounced the Anglican service, now acquiesced in the episcopacy which it was sought to superimpose on the raw scaffolding of Presbyterianism. There had always been in the superintendents an embryo of the episcopal office: John Erskine of Dun, a rich landowner who had been one of the most zealous of the early Reformers, spoke of Bishops as "the order which God hath appointed in his Kirk." Two reasons impelled the dominant nobles to restore at least the administrative office of the bishops: a system of Church government similar to the Anglican would make union with England easier to accomplish; the appointment of bishops, enjoying, of course, only a fraction of the revenues of their dioceses, would lend a colour of legality to seizures of church property by the nobility.

It was, therefore, decided at Leith that the titles of archbishop, bishop, abbot and prior were to remain and that an assembly or chapter of clergy was to be appointed at every cathedral. Knox contented himself with hoping that "all bishoprics vacant may be presented and qualified persons nominate thereto." It was a retreat from the position taken up in the First Book of Discipline but Knox, who never ceased to thunder against the nobles as wolves who despoiled the patrimony of the Church, knew that he could not afford to break with them.

Before the end of the year the great reformer was dead and the leadership of the Kirk passed to Andrew Melville, a learned divine who to a zeal and vehemence almost equal to Knox's added a brittle doctrinaire outlook of his own. Under Melville's guidance the Kirk returned to the pure fountains of Presbytery aided

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by a general disgust with the open trafficking in the new bishoprics. Episcopacy was condemned by the General Assembly in 1580 and in the following year the Second Book of Discipline sketched the new order: bishops, it was declared, were not an order superior to presbyters; the superintendents were abolished; the Church was to be governed through the Kirk Session, the Provincial Synod, and the General Assembly. Only one rank in the hierarchy was missing, the most important of all, which was to give its name to the whole structure, the Presbytery, or district assembly. This body, which exercised the function of ordaining ministers by the laying-on of hands, sprang out of the practice that had grown up whereby the ministers and laymen of a district met weekly for religious "exercise". Not long after the publishing of the Second Book of Discipline presbyteries were being formed and were taking their place in the ordered fabric of the Church. The courts of this Church were representative, which Parliament was not, and severely impartial, which the secular judiciary was not. They claimed to have jurisdiction over morals, marriage, religion, and education.

The State was faced by a formidable rival whose moral strength it could not emulate but whose claims it could scarcely recognise.

In 1579 a handsome and accomplished Frenchman of Scottish name and descent brought to Edinburgh a shimmer of Gallic elegance and graceful depravity. He was a relative of the king's, his name Esmé Stewart, *Sieur d'Aubigny*. He was well supplied with French money and easily won the affection of a young king who had suffered under an austere régime of tutors, led by the famous scholar, George Buchanan, who had not hesitated to lay a cane upon the person of majesty.

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D'Aubigny became Earl of Lennox, underwent a conversion to Presbytery, the swiftness of which alarmed the ministers, and, as the first stroke in the audacious policy he had come to carry through, obtained the trial and execution of the Earl of Morton on a charge of being a party to Darnley's murder. Morton had been the most powerful man in the kingdom and the champion of the friendship with England. Now that he was removed, Lennox could develop his schemes for the renewal of the league with France and the association of James and his mother Mary in the government of the country. James was to be converted to Catholicism or summarily removed to France. Spain, the Guises, and the General of the Jesuits were concerned in the conspiracy.

A dramatic incident brought the whole fabric to ruin. James, who had been hunting in Athole, was decoyed to Ruthven Castle by a group of Protestant nobles headed by the Earls of Mar and Gowrie, and held a prisoner. This coup turned the tables on Lennox, for with the custody of the king there went an immense if indefinable prestige and authority. A General Assembly approved the Ruthven Raid (as it was called), a great crowd sang the 124th Psalm in the streets of Edinburgh, and as the words rang in his ears, "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers", Lennox knew that he had been beaten. He returned to France.

James escaped from his confinement in June, 1583, and, under the influence of James Stewart, Earl of Arran, who had been Lennox's collaborator, took his revenge. The Ruthven conspirators announced that they would free the king from Arran whom, in a nice derangement of epitaphs, Old Testament and classical, which gives us the essential flavour of the age,

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they described as "that godless atheist, bloody Haman, and seditious Catiline." They were compelled to take refuge in England, however, being followed there by Andrew Melville who had in a sermon compared Mary Stewart with Nebuchadnezzar and told the Privy Council that they "presumed over boldly to take upon them to judge the doctrines and control the ambassadors and messengers of a King and Council greater nor they."

Here, in a sentence, was the whole matter at issue between the Kirk and the Crown. The king was being asked by the extreme Presbyterians to admit the right to existence of an institution over which he had no jurisdiction but which interfered in questions that could not by any stretch of reasoning be considered other than the primary responsibility of the secular authority. Presbytery's weakness lay in its attempt to convert an ecclesiastical organisation to political uses; the Crown's in the superior moral and popular weight behind its adversary.

Melville's challenge was taken up three months after his flight when Parliament passed the so-called "Black Acts", asserting the supremacy of the king over Church as well as State; prohibiting assemblies from meeting without his sanction; making pulpit references to public matters treasonable; and providing for the appointment of bishops. The vast majority of the clergy were persuaded to subscribe to these Acts, and when Melville and his fellow-exiles returned to Scotland it was to discover that the king had now a party of his own in the Assembly and that the palmy days of Presbyterian dominion were over.

James's claim to the throne of Elizabeth, and the conspiracy of the Catholic powers against Protestant England—these are the two threads that will lead us

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out of the labyrinth of the politics of the time. The first affords a partial explanation of James's attempts to bring the Scottish ecclesiastical settlement into line with the English; it also accounts for his refusal to break entirely with his Catholic nobility, since there was always a possibility that one or other of Spain's projects against England might be successful, in which event James would emerge as the Catholic candidate for the English throne. Yet James could not be the active ally of the Catholic states, since their triumph would mean the restoration of his mother. Her execution in 1587 for complicity in a plot against Elizabeth was an event which James privately welcomed; it helped to give him kindlier thoughts of the Catholics who might now be useful to him, just as the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the following year stiffened his Protestantism. His suspicious tolerance of Catholics roused the Presbyterians to extort from him in 1592 the so-called "Golden Acts" which repealed previous church legislation and gave legal status to the Presbyterian order.

This was a severe setback for the king, but it was also the high watermark of Presbyterian success. The odd, intelligent, well-read, bourgeois prince whom we are so prone to regard as a mere figure of fun, the first of the Scotch comedians, proceeded to rule Scotland with a skill and insight which brought him from a grotesque weakness to an unparalleled strength and authority, and enabled him to carry out his designs upon the English throne with a shrewdness and dexterity that gave him victory in one of the most prolonged and difficult pieces of diplomatic double-dealing in history.

His first victory over the Kirk was the outcome of the famous and romantic episode known as the affair

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of the "Spanish Blanks" in which information furnished by an English agent led to the discovery of a correspondence between Scottish Catholic lords and Philip of Spain having for its object a Spanish invasion of England from a Scottish base. Huntly and Errol, the leaders of the conspiracy, were banished but were allowed to return to Scotland three years later. The Kirk found this leniency sinister and sent a deputation to remonstrate with the king. David Black, an extreme Presbyterian, denounced the king and queen from his pulpit in St. Andrews. Charged with sedition before the Privy Council, he declined to admit its competence. But here James was in a powerful position, for Black had not only abused his own sovereign but had also called the Queen of England an atheist, to that lady's intense annoyance. He was banished to the remote Highlands.

But the occasion of James's decisive victory over the wild men of the Kirk arose from another and obscurer event. The re-trenching zeal of eight Commissioners of Exchequer, the "Octavians", appointed to restore order to the royal finances, met with the disapproval of certain members of the king's household—the "Cubiculars", or Lords of the Bedchamber—who spread the news among the ministers that the Octavians were Papist plotters. The time was so credulous and nervous that the Cubiculars had no difficulty in stirring up a riot among the godly in Edinburgh by the false rumour that a Popish rising had begun. The king was unable to leave the Tolbooth for some time owing to the disorder and, though he was finally escorted to Holyrood by loyal craftsmen, he took astute advantage of the outbreak. Next day he left for Linlithgow while a proclamation was read ordering the Lords of

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Session, judges and royal officials to be ready to quit the city which was no more to be the capital of Scotland.

Edinburgh, alarmed by the blow thus aimed at its prosperity and prestige, experienced a rapid cooling of its Presbyterian ardour and finally induced the king to rescind his decree for a payment of 30,000 marks. An important stronghold was won from the Kirk. In the meantime a General Assembly, convened by the king at Perth and therefore illegal in the eyes of the Presbyterian purists, was brought, by dint of skilful lobbying among the more moderate ministers from the north, to declare itself lawfully summoned and to acknowledge the king's right to convene another assembly at Dundee. The king, it was decided, had a right to propose alterations in the constitution of the Kirk and without his sanction no church court could meet.

The Dundee Assembly completed the victory of the State. The prestige of the General Assembly was attacked by the decision to appoint fifty-one representatives chosen by the king to represent the Kirk in Parliament. James might protest that he meant no "Papistical or Anglican bishops" but bishops were obviously not far off. The king could afford to wait; the fall in the religious temperature of Scotland was smoothing the way. In 1600 the standing ecclesiastical commission, obeying the king's instructions, appointed diocesan bishops to the three sees of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. These prelates were merely state officials, unconsecrated, with no peculiar sacramental function to perform.

During this same year the dark riddle of the Gowrie Conspiracy was enacted. The story, as James told it, was that he was lured into Gowrie House by the Earl

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of Gowrie, son of the Ruthven Raid conspirator, and his younger brother Alexander Ruthven, and that an attempt was made to kidnap and assassinate him. This "his majesty's persuasive language" averted or at least postponed until he succeeded in attracting the attention of his suite. Although James's narrative has an unconvincing ring, it seems at least certain that his attendants suddenly saw their master's distorted face at an upper window of the castle and rushed in to find him struggling with Ruthven. Both conspirators were killed on the spot. Most probably there was a plot to kidnap but not to murder the king, but James's notorious dislike for the whole race of Ruthven caused his story of an affair that had rid him of two enemies to be greeted with the polite incredulity of Europe.

In 1603 an old woman died in London and the *faux bonhomme* was king of England.

Politics affords only one event, apart from the ecclesiastical preoccupation, important enough to be noticed. The necessity of diminishing the prestige of the General Assembly led James to take one step that strengthened Parliament's authority by widening its representative basis. James I's dead-letter act providing for county members was introduced once more in the form of a new franchise act. The lairds, the mainstay of the Reformation, and the early assemblies, would in future be represented in Parliament, now a vastly different body from the pre-Reformation legislature. There was no clerical estate; the laymen who still sat as "Commendators" of priories and abbeys were rapidly becoming undistinguishable from the rest of the nobles as they acquired secular dignities. A further new class of members were the officers of state, whose members varied between five and eight.

XIII

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IT would be a grotesque error to think of the Reformation and the events that followed it as simply a duel between the state and a junta of presumptuous and self-righteous clergymen or as a successful war waged by narrow bigots against all beauty in life and religion. It was the chief fruit of the Renaissance, late-arrived in Scotland.

The Kirk itself paid heavy tribute to the passionate new zest for things of the intellect. Disputation, and therefore individual judgment, was at its very root; the theocracy was maintained at a high pitch of efficiency by constant trials and examinations: superintendents were compelled to justify themselves before the Assembly, ministers before the Kirk Session: the session might be challenged by the minister, and the congregation sat in judgment upon both of them. Men learnt to handle the tools of abstract argument; the poorest peasant was familiar with philosophical concepts; these people might think about odd things, according to the modern view, but they learned to think.

The most creditable part of the Reformers' work was that which they did for education. The latter-day sneer at the so-called black tyranny of the Kirk overlooks the fact that the Kirk's leaders owed their pre-eminence solely to their superior force of mind, and the other fact that they at all times insisted on the value of an educated people. The spoliation of the

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Church made it impossible for them to do much to improve the burgh schools, yet, among other things, the High School of Edinburgh was founded through the exertions of a minister. The University of St. Andrews was reorganised, and fresh life was instilled into the moribund University of Glasgow by Andrew Melville, who, in addition to the activities which made him troublesome to King James, was a scholar of European renown. In 1593, the Earl Marischal founded a new college at Aberdeen. More important, in 1582, a charter was granted to Edinburgh University, to endow which Bishop Reid, dying three years before the Church of which he was so winsome an ornament, had left 8,000 marks. James was probably right in thinking, as many have thought after him, that Scotland had now too many universities.

The age was not only that of Knox, Melville, and James VI. It was also the age of George Buchanan, and of John Napier of Merchiston. It was not propitious to poetry—Alexander Montgomerie being almost the sole bearer of the torch which was soon to be handed on to Drummond of Hawthornden—but it was fecund in polemics. The traditional Presbyterian attitude to the theatre received its first expression when a company of English players visited Edinburgh under the protection of the king. A meeting of the four kirk sessions of the city forbade the citizens to attend these scandalous exhibitions, but James insisted on the prohibition being withdrawn.

There was an enormous increase in the number of books printed and read; of the three hundred books published in Scotland during the sixteenth century all but thirty-four are post-Reformation. By 1592 seven booksellers were carrying on business in Edinburgh. The rising middle class was eager to read and rich

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enough to buy books, and among the nobility the standard of culture was also rising.

James's minister, Maitland of Thirlestane, might play a dubious role in bloodthirsty feuds but he was the author of poems in Latin and English. The Regent Morton was a skilful landscape gardener; the Earl of Gowrie a connoisseur of music and a collector of paintings; Lord Menmuir, in addition to being the ablest financier of the time, was an expert in mineralogy, inventor of a machine for raising water out of coal mines, learned in Latin and Greek and able to write fluently in French, Italian, and Spanish.

But the two greatest names of the time are those of George Buchanan and John Napier. The first returned to Scotland after winning distinction as a scholar and a Latinist on the Continent; he became the chief pamphleteer of the Protestant party and the young king's tutor and did his duty so conscientiously towards the Lord's anointed that long afterwards that scarcely courageous monarch would tremble when he met anyone who resembled in the flesh his old preceptor. Buchanan's treatise, *De Jure Regni*, an attempt to prove from Scottish tradition that an absolute monarchy was unhistorical and that the king's authority was derived from the people who might withdraw it, had a considerable vogue for more than a century after it was written.

John Napier, eighth laird of Merchiston, is one of the greatest figures in the history of mathematics. His discovery of the use of logarithms was made before 1594 but only became known to the world in 1614 when his *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* was published. His invention of "Napier's bones", the small rods of bone or ivory which he devised to expedite arithmetical operations, is the earliest

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attempt to contrive a calculating machine. He constructed the first "tank" for use in battle, a chariot of metal whose motion was controlled from within, "the enemy meantime being abased and altogether uncertain what defence or pursuit to use against a moving mouth of metal."

During the sixteenth century, in spite of the eclipse of poetry, many of the best of the Border ballads were composed and practically all of them received their final literary form. This superb folk-poetry, product of the heroic age of Border life, is one of the most important contributions of Scottish genius to the literature of the world. It is the pure essence of the Scottish spirit without borrowed affectation, conscious smirk, or moralising obsession. It is the work of men whose life was simple, tragic and unspoiled.

The Reformation gave an impetus to the anglicisation of Scottish speech. Dunbar had applied to his courtly Middle Scots the name of English to distinguish it from the despised Erse or Gaelic (as the patriotic Barbour had done before him); Gavin Douglas a little later had called this same speech "Scottis"; James V had imprisoned a nobleman for "knapping Southron". It is of the first importance to realise that this Scots had become a language; it was not a dialect of English but a distinct speech, closely allied to English. The tongue of the Angles was now a literary medium with its heart and head in Edinburgh, as the tongue of the Saxons was a literary medium fashioned in London. In the linguistic sense, Scots is the Angle half of "Anglo-Saxon". And it had probably not yet split into dialects, except in Aberdeenshire where a local variant seems to have existed. But the stage was set for a transformation scene. Knox brought English forms and expressions into his prose; the change that

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was taking place was prepared by the popularity of scripture-reading, catered for by English translations of the Bible. An English printer, Waldegrave, who settled in Scotland, hastened the process. James VI had the manuscript of his *Basilikon Doron* touched up and the Scotticisms weed out. One Scotsman of the time, John Hamilton, described as treasonous the practise of printing Scottish books in London "in contempt of our native language." But the process was already begun that was to leave of an ancient literary speech only broken fragments of dialects.

The most extraordinary of all manifestations of this time was one which recent scholarship is beginning to estimate at its real importance,—witchcraft. It is no longer possible to regard the witch as a harmless, wretched, half-witted creature whom ignorance, superstition, and cruelty condemned to torture and a horrible death. A closer study of the immense amount of evidence bearing on witchcraft has compelled a greater respect for the contemporary alarm which it excited. The easy scepticism of the nineteenth century is no longer tenable. Christianity had won—especially in remote and sparsely populated districts—only a superficial victory over paganism. The old nature cults of fertility, the earth, the Great Mother, lived on in debased and subterranean forms.

In Scotland the original work of conversion was not wholly effective; during the succeeding centuries of relaxed discipline and clerical corruption there were districts whose Christianity was superficial. There is evidence for the continuity of pre-Christian rites and practices. In 1282 the priest of Inverkeithing was arraigned before his bishops on a charge of having led a fertility dance round the phallic figure of a god. He retained his benefice. The Reformation destroyed

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the fabric of the old Church almost at a blow; the Church that took its place was impoverished and for long could not perfect its parish system. The profound revolution, social and religious, the sudden feverish interest in things spiritual, shook men's minds to their base and prepared a fertile soil for the recrudescence of black superstitions. Plants that had lived in the dark for long ages sprouted suddenly and offended the sunlight with noxious blooms.

Scotland, farthest peninsula of Europe, suffered more than most countries from the witch-cult, the cult of the old nature gods. Christianity felt that it was challenged by an insidious and formidable enemy, and defended itself with the weapons which the Church had long before prescribed for use in such a warfare. Only one Catholic was executed for his faith after the Reformation (a comment on the supposed fanaticism and ferocity of the Calvinists, if also a testimony to the territorial nature of the religious cleavage and to the power of Catholic nobles), but the victims of the crusade against witchcraft during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are to be numbered in thousands.

In Scotland, as in other countries, the secret cult had some semblance of an organisation and a hierarchy. The smallest unit was the "coven" usually of thirteen persons with an official called the officer at its head; a district was presided over by a chief. There was a weekly meeting and a high festival, assembly, or Sabbath on certain days of the year. The chief of these feasts were held on May eve or Roodmas (April 30th) and Hallowe'en (October 31st), dates which probably correspond to the seasons of a stock-raising, pre-agricultural age.

It is only by assuming the existence of a widespread

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and powerful organisation and a cult capable of inducing in its devotees a fanaticism almost equal to that of Christians that one of the darkest chapters of James VI's reign becomes comprehensible. Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell and High Admiral of Scotland (nephew of Mary's Bothwell) had a claim to be regarded as the heir to the throne so long as the king was a childless man. His father was an illegitimate son of James V who had been legitimated by the pope and later by Queen Mary. This man instituted a reign of terror of which the king was the victim. He made a daring assault on the Palace of Falkland in an attempt to seize the king; he obtained entrance to Holyroodhouse at night and came upon the king while he was dressing. James's terror on this occasion was mingled with something from which it is hard to withhold the stronger name of horror.

The clue to this may be sought in the account of the witches' trial of 1590, at which thirty-nine persons (three covens) were accused of being present at a Sabbath in North Berwick Church when they conspired with the Devil to wreck the ship which brought the king and his bride, Anne of Denmark, to Scotland. The list of leaders in this horrid plot disposes of the view that the witches belonged to the poorest and most ignorant class in the community; it contains a school-master, John Fian, "Registrar to the Devil," a peer's daughter, a laird's daughter, and others of good family. It is certain that Bothwell was implicated in the conspiracy and that it was on his behalf the sorcery was invoked; it is almost certain that he was the Grand Master of the witches, their devil or incarnate god. He was confined in Edinburgh Castle for his share in the dark business, but he was too powerful to be dealt with as he deserved. The learned

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and royal author of the *Dæmonology* had good cause to refer feelingly to "the fearfull abounding at this time in this Countrey of these detestable slaves of the Divil, the witches or enchaunters." It was not until 1594 that the wild career of Bothwell ended in flight.

The clack of the lintmill which disturbed John Napier in his study is a symbol of new forces which were beginning to break in upon the old order in Scotland. In spite of the religious upheaval and the disorders which accompanied it, the prosperity of the country grew; agriculture might remain the same primitive economy that it had been for centuries (though the nobility and some of the lairds like Napier were giving more attention to the cultivation of their lands), but trade was increasing and the exploitation of natural resources was receiving the attention of a new class of *entrepreneurs*. Lead, copper, and gold mines were opened; coal mines were sunk; factories sprang up under the protection of monopolies granted by the crown; English capitalists began the destruction of the great forests of the Highlands (logs from which were floated down the rivers to form, with cattle, the staple of Highland trade with the Lowlands) by acquiring them for use in iron-smelting. It was the wolves, however, who were the indirect cause of the most ruthless burning of the timber. The pest had grown and not diminished with the years, rewards and compulsory hunts at stated intervals had proved unavailing; "Spittals" were erected to provide asylum for the imperilled traveller. At last a systematic burning of the woods solved the problem. From now on the wolf is a rare creature in Scotland, lingering for another century but no more a serious problem. As for the woods, "all mervellouse delectable to the

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eye", as Bishop Leslie found them,—they, too, were no more.

Foreign trade was mainly with the Low Countries, where the Staple still existed, and with the Baltic; the State intervened with its customary stupidity in commerce, forbidding at different times the export of merchandise and precious metals. On the other hand the king's favour was responsible for the introduction of new manufactures, such as silk weaving and the making (by Flemings) of serges and grograms. "The gentlemen adventurers of Fife" embarked for the colonising of Lewis and other Western isles. The ignorance of the Highlands which prevailed then was almost incredible (language and geography having conspired to make two countries in Scotland); Parliament learned with a thrill of delight of the discovery of woods in the Highlands "which, by reason of the savageness of the inhabitants, had been unknown"; and the Fife gentlemen credited the "report of certane personneis maid of the great fertilitie and commoditeis of the saidis Yllis." They built a "pretty town", but disease, climate, and the hostility of the clansmen brought the adventure to ruin.

A class of capitalists and financiers arose whose wealth enabled them to claim equality with the nobles. The goldsmiths of Edinburgh were the bankers of the age, the merchant princes who were favoured at court, where their advances of money helped James and his extravagant Danish wife to round more than one awkward corner. Sir William Dick of Braid, whose career began when he farmed the rents of Crown lands in his native Orkney, became provost of Edinburgh, the owner of the vast fortune of £200,000, and the financier of the armies of the Covenant. Thomas

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Foulis had lent the king £26,000 Scots by 1594. Bailie MacMorran, who had been a servant of the Earl of Moray, became the richest man in the kingdom and entertained the king's brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein, in his house. George Heriot, court jeweller, farmer of the customs, the son of an old landed family, carried on considerable financial operations from his tiny seven-foot-square booth. In ten years he lent the queen £50,000 sterling; at one time the title-deeds of the Chapel Royal at Stirling were in his keeping as security; an apartment in Holyroodhouse was reserved for his use. After providing for two illegitimate daughters, he left enough money to found the school which still bears his name.

Although the country was richer, the problem of poverty became serious for the first time. The old Church with its almshouses and hospitals had, with what inefficiency we know, provided to some extent for the poor; the new landlords were not so indulgent as the old, and in many cases the charitable institutions of the old establishment were ruined, for the benefit of a noble. The disorders of the age helped to create a large class of idle beggars against whom Parliament in vain sought to legislate with scourgings and brandings and humaner but not more effective methods. It is to this time that the great migration of poor Scotsmen and their families to Poland and Prussia belongs. Later, in Continental wars, the Plantation of Ulster, and through other channels the surplus population flowed out of Scotland.

The Reformation brought to a sudden end that sustained effort of architecture which gave Scotland from the days of David I onward the churches which are still her loveliest buildings (though too often only lovely ruins) and substituted for art the crude

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improvisation of congregational barns by partitioning off the old structures into areas suited to Presbyterian lung-power. Yet secular architecture took on a new life with the growth of order and the re-distribution of wealth. The towns had now assumed for the most part that somewhat grim yet picturesque garb of stone without which it is almost impossible for the modern mind to picture them. The wealthier nobles were converting their domestic fortresses into dwellings at once more habitable and more pacific by adding to the original bleak tower a wing in a more decorative style. Of these "palatial" castles, Falkland is an example. The smaller proprietors, in their thatched peel towers, devised less ambitious means to arrive at the same end of greater comfort and more house-room. Turrets began to project (sometimes oddly enough) from their tower-tops, crowding on to the battlements in search of light and air.

As the prosperity of the Southern and Eastern parts of the kingdom grew and as life there took on an increasing complexity, the gulf between Lowlands and Highlands tended to deepen. Gaelic, having retreated to the Grampians (save for that area in Galloway where it still held out), withstood in those wild glens the advance of a speech which had no longer any motive to go forward. And, on the whole, the Reformation had created a new division. Protestantism was a purely Lowland movement; it was never a Highland enthusiasm. As late as 1590 half of the country to the north of Perth was still Catholic; in the General Assemblies of Perth and Dundee (1597) it was the ministers from the north who supported the king against the Presbyterian extremists.

The pre-feudal clan structure lived on, preserved by the intersecting mountains. Costume contributed

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towards the general impression of a distinct people and a distinct culture. The Scotsman of the burghs and the Lowland carses dressed very much like other Europeans of the time, especially like the Dutch and Flemings from whom he and his womenfolk were still borrowing their fashions. But the Highlander was evolving a unique and characteristic dress. That modern article of attire, the "garb of old Gaul", still did not exist in the form in which it is now known. A pleated skirt, saffron-dyed in the case of persons of rank, was the basis of the dress; over it was worn a plaid wound round the waist and secured with a belt, and with one end fastened at [the shoulder by a brooch.

The culture of the Highlands was still mainly a folk-culture; poetry and music were borrowed from Ireland; harpers still went to the sister Gaelic-speaking country to be trained in their art and Irish masters of this instrument (which still existed along with the bagpipe) were in request at the houses of the chiefs. The collection of poems which the Dean of Lismore made in the early part of the sixteenth century consists of Irish lays; the distinct idiom of Scottish Gaelic had yet to acquire the rank of a literary language. But the relations between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland were less intimate and constant since the maritime lordship of the Isles came to an end in 1493. A day was dawning when a native poetry, finely-wrought and of a various music, would come to flower in the glens. In the meantime, Bishop Carsewell's translation into Gaelic of Knox's liturgy was bringing the Highlands once more into touch with the thoughts and doings of the rest of Scotland.

The two areas, it is important to remember, were inhabited by people of fundamentally the same race,

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whose culture was, at its roots, one. The songs of the Highlands have a familiar ring to those who remember their Doric airs, and, when Burns wedded his Ayrshire Scots to a Highland tune, he was only celebrating the marriage of two who had been betrothed for uncounted centuries.

Such, then, is the story of Scotland up to the moment when she entered upon an association with England under a common sovereign; such, in some sketchy way, is the aspect of the country and the people at this supreme instant on which it had stumbled, as it were, in the dark, without much forethought or preparation. It is certain that the vast majority of men in Scotland at the time of the Union had spent the greater part of their lives in regarding England as the natural enemy of their country; the remarkable thing is that most of them came to regard the Union as neither a matter for congratulation nor for dismay, but as something taken for granted. It was clear that the Union would have one bad effect. Edinburgh, whose wealth was greatly built upon her position as a capital, the centre of a court, and the resort of a nobility, would be injured. The more distant and more important consequences no man could foretell.

Would the Union last? Would the two peoples moulded by such divergent forces into so different a shape, yet possessing in a common speech (or, at least, mutually comprehensible speeches) the germ of so much more that might become common,—would they learn to co-operate, or would they fly asunder? Would Scotland, smaller, poorer, less instructed in civilisation, be submerged in England and learn to adorn in contentment the station of a province? Or would a Scottish king contrive to give a Scottish

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flavour and even a Scottish personnel to the new organism?

James VI and, now I, his bandy legs tucked beneath him in the state coach and his golf clubs swinging behind, carried these questions with him as he lumbered towards Berwick.

XIV

THISTLE AND ROSE

SCOTLAND and England were now in the impossible position of being, at the same time, one state and two states. They had a common sovereign but separate and independent legislatures, churches, laws, judicatures, revenues and officers of state. There were only two paths out of this absurdity: a closer union or, at least, the creation of a joint organ to deal with affairs of common interest; or, on the other hand, the subordination of the legislative assembly of the smaller country. It was incredible that two distinct representative bodies should agree on every important question of external or domestic concern; and, on the other hand, impossible that the king should make war on himself or wage war with one hand, as it were, but not with the other.

The second solution was adopted for a century. The supine tradition of the Scottish Parliament, which had already made it the king's obedient instrument and court of registry, coupled with the usurpation by the Privy Council of legislative power,—these conditions were already in existence. After the Union they helped to bring about a working arrangement, superficially agreeable to Scottish pride and prejudice, which endured until the backwash of Whiggery gave Scotland a real legislature. Then, immediately, the continuance of the system became impossible.

The solution which held until 1706 was not accepted without a struggle in which James, aided by some of the best brains of both kingdoms, including Bacon,

sought to create a closer union. The Borders were to be abolished to form a group of "Middle Shires", the united kingdom was to be styled "Great Britain"; free trade between the two countries was to be established and, naturally, hostile laws rescinded. "Think not of me as a king going from one part to another", said James to his first subjects. "I am the husband and all the whole Island is my lawful wife," he announced to his first English Parliament in a characteristic metaphor. "I hope therefore that no man will be so unreasonable as to think that I, that am a Christian King under the Gospel, should be a polygamist and husband to two wives." The Scottish Parliament, without enthusiasm, approved the treaty of union; its English counterpart declined to pull down the hedge between a fertile pasture and a bare one. In the end a law was passed conferring citizenship of both kingdoms on those born after the Union of the Crowns; there the matter ended.

James was more powerful than any Scots sovereign had ever been. The spoliation of the Catholic Church was the key to this power, for the act of 1587, which annexed the Church property to the Crown, put into the king's hands an almost inexhaustible source of bribes and persuasions. The episcopal restoration went on smoothly enough for a time. One powerful opponent was removed. Andrew Melville was summoned to London and, on a charge of libelling the Church of England, was confined in the Tower for three years. The contentious man ended his life as a professor at the University of Sedan.

There were now bishops in the Church but no work for bishops to do, save to represent the spirituality in Parliament. But in 1606 "constant moderators", whose salaries were paid by the king, were installed

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in the presbyteries, and in one presbytery in each diocese the bishop was moderator. In 1609 Parliament gave the bishops complete jurisdiction in cases of wills and divorce ; later, two Courts of High Commission for the trial of ecclesiastical offences were created. Bishops instructed presbyteries as to which men they were to send as representatives to the Assemblies, bribes distributed by the king's commissioner ensured that these representatives performed that which was expected of them. In 1610 this political episcopacy was given canonical status ; three Scottish bishops (although in Presbyterian orders) were consecrated in London by English prelates and returned to Scotland to transmit the succession to the rest of the episcopacy. Four years before, Parliament by the Act for the "Restitution of the Estate of Bishops" had restored to the church the property which had been annexed to the crown in 1587. The prelates were to have an income which would put them on a level, so far as material things went, little below that of the Pre-Reformation bishops.

So far, then, all had gone well with the king's project. The power of ordination was vested once more in the bishops, the provincial synods had become diocesan synods, and the General Assembly had been shorn of a great deal of its power. But in the kirk session and presbytery the democratic system which Knox had inaugurated still prevailed. The church services were still conducted in accordance with the "Book of Common Order" of which Knox was the chief deviser and with the freedom for extempore prayer permitted by that volume. Congregations sat to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and knelt at prayer. Christmas and Easter were ignored with a somewhat strained and self-conscious deliberateness.

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And now James ventured a further and a more perilous step. In 1617 he visited his native land and in the chapel of Holyrood attended an Anglican service, which he had once described as "an ill-said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings." Now there were—not indeed the "liftings" (the elevation of the Host)—but enough of "singing of quiristors, surplices, and playing on organes" to create scandal among the godly. At a convention of ministers he put forward five propositions for the improvement of Church ritual which a packed Assembly at Perth in the following year accepted with a bad grace. These five Articles of Perth permitted private baptism and communion in cases of necessity, authorised the custom of kneeling to receive the sacrament, instituted episcopal confirmation, and enjoined the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day and Whitsunday.

The refusal to conform with the innovations was widespread and determined. Men walked miles rather than take communion in a "kneeling" church; shops and booths stood defiantly open on Good Friday and Christmas Day; the bishops made only half-hearted attempts to enforce practices with which they were in imperfect sympathy; in the end the Five Articles were a dead letter over wide stretches of the country.

James died in 1625, having reigned for twenty-two years as king of the two countries.

The first act of Charles I's reign as king of Scotland was one which only expediency condemned and for which justice and concern for the church's welfare argued forcibly.

The grand pillage of the patrimony of Christ had left the church with scarcely the garments of decency, still less those of ornament. Only a third of the

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parsonages had survived to the Reformation unannexed by abbeys or bishoprics. Of these many were held by laymen. A third of the benefices was allocated in Queen Mary's reign to the Reformed Church, with an additional grant from the Crown for small livings. Yet, owing to the number of exemptions granted, there were still, thirty-six years after the Reformation, 400 churches without minister or reader. An act of 1617 provided that stipends were to be paid to all ministers out of the tithes which had been assigned to laymen—known as Titulars of the Teinds. Yet the real problem raised by the economic revolution remained untouched. The Lords of Erection, the lay holders of the abbey lands, had acquired rights over a great number of vassals, and as tithe-owners, they possessed the power to compel a heritor (i.e. tithe-payer) to leave his crops standing until they had chosen their portion. Farmers and gentry lost valuable crops through abuse of this privilege, which was at times openly employed by nobles to coerce the smaller landowners.

The Act of Revocation of 1625 was a comprehensive attempt to remedy this scandalous state of affairs. All grants of Church lands by the Crown were annulled, on the ground that the Crown had no right to dispose of benefices which the clergy, as life-renters, could not resign. The scope of the act was colossal; it reached back to the accession of Queen Mary, dealt with the bulk of the property of the pre-Reformation Church, and threatened the purse of every gentle family in the land. During the latter half of the period concerned twenty-one abbeys, seven priories, six nunneries, two preceptories and two ministries had been erected into temporal lordships. The Act was nothing less than a counter-revolution.

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Yet, in the end, the nobles retained their Church lands, the Crown contenting itself with the right to resume them on payment of compensation. The tithe system, was, however, completely altered. The heritors were empowered to buy their teinds at nine years' purchase or lease them at an annual payment from the rapacious "titulars" and the new tacksmen, or middlemen, who farmed the teinds. But first of all the stipends of the clergy must be paid and the minimum stipend was fixed at the figure which had been the maximum in 1617.

By this most statesmanlike measure Charles deserved that which he did not obtain, the gratitude of his subjects of Scotland. He had provided adequately for the Church and minimised some of the worst consequences of the religious upheaval. But he had, in the process, alienated and alarmed the nobility: the ill-considered and sensational manner in which the Act was initiated caused many a lord to tremble as he gazed out over the wide lands which had once been the Church's. A time was to come when Charles would find this suspicion armed and in the field against him.

Two streams flowed together to make at their meeting the Great Rebellion. In England there was the political duel between King and Parliament; in Scotland there was the religious struggle between King and Presbyterians over the ceremonial of the Scottish Church. Charles attempted to carry a stage further the anglicising, ritualising programme of his father. His coronation ceremony at Holyrood, with its candles and crucifix and genuflecting bishops, brought to men's lips the word of dread, "Popery". Then Parliament passed an act compelling ministers to don white surplices to administer the sacraments or bury the dead; the English liturgy was to be used

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in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood and at St. Andrews University. In 1635 the worst was known. Under Archbishop Laud's influence, Charles imposed on the Scottish Church a Book of Canons which ignored the local church courts of Session and Presbytery, forbade extempore prayer and permitted confession, and ordered the regular use of the surplice and a new service book. A new order of preaching deacons took the place of the lay deacons whom the Reformation had called into being. The new Service Book, published in 1637, was simply the English Book of Common Prayer with slight alterations, made on the whole in a Catholic direction. When the new book was read in St. Giles Cathedral there was an unseemly disturbance. No one objected to prayers being read; Knox's Book of Common Order was used in every church in the land. But this unwanted book with its hint of Popery had been thrust upon the Church without even the pretence of sanction from an Assembly.

The temper of the nation was up, and unfortunately Charles did not recognise the plain fact when he saw it. He ordered the rioters to be tried and the new book to be bought and read by every minister. Men of all ranks flocked into Edinburgh to petition against the detested Liturgy; the Lord Advocate, at his wit's end, suggested that the four estates, nobles, lairds, burghers and ministers, should choose committees to represent them. Four were appointed from each. The tables at which they sat in conference in the Parliament House gave them their name, the "Tables".

When Charles met the protests of the "Tables" by an obstinate proclamation, his opponents proved in a striking fashion that they had the bulk of the nation behind them. There is no more extraordinary chapter

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in history than that which describes the signing of the National Covenant by the great majority of the nobility, by all the burghs except dourly episcopal Aberdeen, by throngs of lairds and three hundred ministers. The scenes which accompanied the signing seemed rather to belong to a religious revival of the most emotional kind than to a political demonstration.

The National Covenant revived an old relic of the Popish scares of pre-Armada days, the Negative Confession of 1581, which condemned the characteristic Catholic doctrines, added a list of Acts confirming the confession, and asserted that the recent innovations in religion contravened them. It closed with a promise to maintain "the true religion and His Majesty's authority." No reference was made to the episcopacy, and many Episcopalians signed as a protest against the king's bungling.

But an Assembly, which met later in the year at Glasgow, carried things a stage further. The nobles were resolved that episcopacy, a standing menace to their filched estates, should go ; the bulk of the people were determined to have their local church courts restored. Charles suffered all the disadvantages of an absentee monarch. He was compelled to act by means of a Commissioner and officials over whom he had no effective control ; he had no first-hand knowledge of the situation and such information as reached him was already several days old ; he had, worst of all, lost personal contact with his subjects ; the Edinburgh craftsmen who rallied to rescue his father from riotous fanatics were indifferent to a king whose face they never saw.

For three weeks after it had been dissolved by the king's Commissioner the Glasgow Assembly continued to sit. The Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the

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Court of High Commission were condemned; the bishops (most of whom had already fled the country) were deposed and eight of them excommunicated. The whole structure laboriously raised by James and Charles was swept away. After this, war was imminent and inevitable. By a coincidence, it was also imminent in England.

XV

THE BIBLE AND THE SWORD

As early as the spring of 1638 Scotland was drilling under officers who had learnt the art of war in Germany; later in the year Alexander Leslie, a soldier of European reputation, returned to Scotland; in 1639 he was in command of the covenanting army and Edinburgh Castle had fallen to his skill. The young Earl of Montrose, by a swift move, prevented a threatened rising on the king's behalf in Aberdeenshire and sent its leader, Huntly, a prisoner to Edinburgh. Charles led an army of 21,000 men to Berwick where he found himself faced by Leslie commanding a force of the same size but well-trained, thoroughly organised, and full of enthusiasm. Battle, which neither side could contemplate with equanimity, was averted by treaty in which the king agreed that an Assembly and a Parliament were to meet. The first of these bodies, meeting later in the year, renewed all the acts of the Glasgow Assembly against Episcopacy; the king assented through his Commissioner.

When Parliament met, an interesting problem was created by the absence of bishops, for James had provided that, when the Lords of the Articles were chosen, the bishops should elect eight peers and these eight bishops, and that the sixteen should then pick eight barons and eight burgh commissioners to complete the list. Since the king appointed the bishops, and since the Lords of the Articles alone had the power to initiate legislation, the device gave the king control of

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Parliament. Now that there were no bishops, the eight peers were chosen by the King's Commissioner, a formal protest being lodged by each estate to prevent the setting up of a perilous precedent.

The meeting of this Parliament was postponed when it became clear that the acts in favour of episcopacy were to be annulled ; but it met nevertheless, with a commissioner of its own choosing, and proceeded to ratify the Assembly's acts against episcopacy and to deprive the Lords of the Articles of their power : they were not to be chosen unless Parliament thought it proper that they should be, each estate was to select its own representatives, and while Parliament could discuss what it liked, the Articles committee could deal only with articles (i.e. bills) indicated by Parliament.

And so again to war. The English Short Parliament, having declined, in pursuance of objects of their own, to vote supplies for a Scottish campaign, Charles marched north with such troops as he could collect. The Scottish Parliament appointed a War Committee, renewed Leslie's commission, and appealed for funds. Leslie invaded England, with a blue-bonneted force including Highlanders armed with bows and arrows ("the nakedest fellows that ever I saw", to English eyes), seized Newcastle, thereby cutting off London from its coal supplies, and compelled Charles to treat for peace—and, incidentally, to summon the Long Parliament. A final settlement was reached which gave the Scots all that they asked for—episcopacy abolished and the covenant recognised—and paid the expenses of their army in England. But by that time, the first stage in the duel between Charles and the House of Commons had ended: Strafford was executed, Laud in prison, the Star Chamber abolished. The English were preparing to go further in the direction

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of defying and opposing their king than the Scots had dreamt of doing. Already there were signs that Charles might hope to find support in Scotland against his English enemies : the Earl of Montrose, the fantastic great gentleman who was to become one of the most brilliant of Scottish military leaders, was already giving signs of veering round to the side of the king. Charles visited Scotland, flattered and rewarded those who had lately been in arms against him, but accomplished little of what he had come to do. Hamilton, who had been his servant, was now intriguing with the Covenant party. Argyll, in a land of great feudal magnates the greatest of all, was the king's most formidable opponent, able, it was said, to put five thousand armed men into the field.

When the final break came between Charles and his Parliament of England the most vital question for both parties was : What will the Scots do ? The best troops in the island were to be found to the north of the Tweed ; it was inconceivable that they should remain neutral.

Things were going badly with the Parliamentary forces when at the end of the first year of civil war they sent commissioners to Edinburgh to ask the help of the Scots Convention. The Solemn League and Covenant, the outcome of these negotiations, gave the Englishmen what they wanted : the alliance of the Scots and the assistance of their army ; it exacted from them a price which had the merit of being totally impossible of payment : the acceptance by England of the Presbyterian form of Church government. For this phantasm the Scots exchanged the use of the well-equipped army of 21,000 men which Leslie, now Earl of Leven, led across the Tweed on January 19th, 1644. In July, Marston Moor was won partly through

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the solid qualities of the Scottish infantry ; by autumn the tide had turned against the king.

In the meantime, Montrose, marquis now and the king's Lieutenant in Scotland, had embarked on that series of military exploits which is the most romantic episode in the war. Having conceived the idea of bringing in the almost forgotten, curiously remote, Celtic world to redress the King's fortunes, so sadly awry, he recruited an army of Highlanders and Scots-Irishmen from Ulster, and burst like a thunderbolt upon a covenanting army near Perth. The achievement was repeated within the same month (September, 1644) at Aberdeen, where the savagery of the victorious Celtic soldiery provided a warning to the Lowlanders of what they might expect if Montrose triumphed. From Aberdeen he led his host into the Argyll country and defeated the great Marquis at Inverlochy. After some other successes in the north over the raw, ill-trained levies who guarded the Covenanters' rear, Montrose ventured to lead his bands over the Forth. At Kilsyth he destroyed a Covenanting army under General Baillie ; Glasgow surrendered ; Edinburgh gave up its Royalist prisoners ; in his King's name Montrose summoned a Parliament to meet at Glasgow. But it was already August ; in June the King's cause had been lost for ever at Naseby field. And Montrose's career of victories was at an end. David Leslie (Leven's nephew), with four thousand veterans from the Scots army in England, caught him unawares at Philiphaugh. Montrose escaped to the Continent ; his followers were less fortunate : those of inferior rank were butchered, while their leaders, after a form of trial, suffered execution.

Between the Parliamentary forces and their Scottish allies all was not well. Jealousies between the Scots

SCOTLAND

ILLUSTRATING THE CAMPAIGNS OF MONTROSE,
THE COVENANTING WARS & THE RISINGS
OF 1715 & 1745.



THE SCOTLAND OF RELIGIOUS AND DYNASTIC WARS.

and English commanders and disputes over the delay in paying for the maintenance of the Scots troops concealed a deeper quarrel. The war had brought into prominence an English Nonconformist sect named the Independents who laid emphasis upon the disciplinary freedom of each congregation and the doctrinal liberty of each individual. They were naturally opposed to any extension of the strict Presbyterian system—and they had done more than anyone else to beat the King. In May, 1664, the issue was complicated incalculably. Charles, having to choose between English and Scottish captors, surrendered to the Scots at Newark. The English were indignant—the Scots embarrassed.

They were ready to fight for Charles if he would sign the Covenant and impose Presbytery on England. Charles was willing to give the absurd scheme a five years' trial ; it was not enough. He was handed over to the Parliamentary army, on condition that no harm should come to him. A settlement of the arrears due to the Scots from their allies and employers was reached, £400,000 claimed being paid out of the £2,000,000. The transaction has been represented as a sale by the Scots of their king. But, if the Covenanters brought Charles to Scotland, they would be presenting a dangerous weapon to their enemies and involving themselves in a certain war with the dominant English party. They had, after all, made sacrifices of doctrine as well as of blood to secure an acceptable uniformity of religion in Scotland and England. The Westminster Assembly of Divines to which Scottish commissioners were sent produced a series of documents modifying the Protestantism of Scotland. The Book of Common Order was replaced by a "Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the three

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Kingdoms"; the Westminster Confession of Faith supplanted Knox's Confession; the old catechisms went, to make room for the larger and shorter catechisms that are still in use. Even the deplorable metrical version of the Psalms is a part of this compromise, which failed in its purpose but left these lasting relics behind it.

The surrender of the king brought division upon the Covenanters. The nobles had no longer to fear the loss of their church lands. Presbyterian distrust of the Independents was growing. A secret arrangement was entered into with the captive king; his proposal for a three years' trial of Presbytery south of the Tweed was accepted and a Scots army invaded England. But it was not the efficient force that had marched south in 1644. Only half as big and lacking experienced commanders like Leven and David Leslie, opposed by the ministers and embarrassed by a rebellion in the west country, it fell an easy victim to Cromwell at Preston.

Six days after Charles was executed, his son was proclaimed king by the Scottish Estates. English republicans and Scottish Covenanters had parted company. Negotiations with the young prince, exiled in Holland, dragged on while Montrose made his last gallant fore-doomed attempt to win Scotland for an uncovenanted king. His Orkney men and foreign mercenaries were scattered and he himself captured. The end of the Great Montrose befitted the noblest of cavaliers and a king among men. At the scaffold he said, "I leave my soul to God, my services to my prince, my good-will to my friends, my love and charity to you all."

A month later, his prince had signed the Covenants and landed in Scotland. But a visitor more formidable

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than young Charles was on his way to Scotland, the English cavalry general, Oliver Cromwell. To meet this danger the Presbyterian fanatics who were now in ascendancy adopted a series of measures pleasing, perhaps, to the God of the Covenants but highly distasteful, as it appeared, to the Lord of Hosts. The Act of Classes deprived of office for various periods all those offensive to the strict, from desperate criminals like those who had supported Montrose, down to minor offenders such as those guilty merely of drunkenness and uncleanness.

A pious purge deprived the army of four thousand of its best soldiers, suspected of insufficient zeal in the cause of religion. Charles was forced to own himself deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God because of his father's conduct, a humiliation which the most easy-going of monarchs found it hard to stomach. Even so, the army under its "ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures" had, through the superior strategic skill of David Leslie, forced the great Ironside into a trap when an order from the committee of Estates "to fall on" precipitated the disaster of Dunbar.

"Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered", cried Cromwell, while the Presbyterians with equal appositeness quoted Scripture to prove that the defeat was a punishment from on high for their impious toleration of the "malignants". But the high Presbyterians raged in vain; with Dunbar their power had gone; the army filled up with recruits in defiance of the Act of Classes and held Cromwell at Stirling until a thrust at Perth across the Forth dislodged them and dispatched them on that daring invasion of England which ended in the smashing but not inglorious defeat of Worcester.

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For nine years Scotland was a conquered province of England. Eight commissioners of the English Parliament issued a "Declaration" ordering the shires and burghs to choose representatives to approve the the union of the two countries. Negotiations were still in progress when the Long Parliament was dissolved. It was left to Cromwell as Lord Protector to frame the union, outlined first in the "Instrument of Government", defined in the "Ordinance of Union" (1654). Scotland and England were to be one Commonwealth—with thirty Scottish members in the common Parliament. Scotland gained free trade with England and the colonies; hereditary jurisdictions of the nobles were abolished. Seven commissioners, three of them Scots, took over the functions of the Court of Session, which had never wholly lost its character of a corrupt body.

"A man may ride over all Scotland," boasted one of the Cromwellian officials, "with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years." It was not without justification. A council of state, composed of of eight members (two Scots) and a President, took over the administration of government. The members sent to the Commonwealth Parliament were for the most part English officials. The country took little interest in the election to a Parliament with which they felt no organic relationship, and in which their representation was grotesquely inadequate. Scotland was, apparently, resigned and prostrate: the nobles, still the natural military leaders (in the armies of the Covenant the regimental commanders had been almost entirely peers or gentry), were in many cases exiles; the Church was allowed to fight out its own quarrels, only the assemblies being forbidden. The result was that, with less politics preached and more religion,

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“I verily believe”, in the words of a Presbyterian historian, “there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation.”

In 1660 Monck marched into England to restore Charles II, the very act which in the year of Dunbar he had come to Scotland to prevent. Scotland regained the independence which she had lost as the reward of her attempt to impose her religious views on her neighbour. Financially the union had been a disaster. The maintenance of the garrison was an oppressive item: in 1654 it was costing £41,235 a month of which only £4,000 could be raised in the country. The bankruptcy of Scotland contributed materially to downfall of the Protectorate. Trade regulations in the interests of England injured the Scottish exports of hides and wool; the wars with Spain and Holland, with whom Scotland had an ancient and close commercial relationship, also hindered Scottish trade. In time, there might have been adjustment to the new and strange conditions but, as it was, the cost of the military occupation left Scotland poorer after the nine years of the Commonwealth than she had been at the beginning. But at least there had been order and good government under the police, the spies, the forts and the red-coated, psalm-singing soldier-saints. In the future it might be necessary to regret their absence!

It was on the 1st of January 1660 that Monck entered England to restore Charles II. When news reached Sir Thomas Urquhart in Caithness, the translator of Rabelais was seized with an immoderate fit of laughter of which (says legend) he died. It was an appropriate end for the man who made the greatest translation but one into English.

XVI

HUNTED MEN ON THE HILLS

THE Restoration carried a stage further the unresolved conflict between a state which claimed the right to prescribe the religion of the nation and a church convinced that it possessed the sole brand of doctrine and government acceptable to heaven, and the right to impose it upon all men.

It put an end to the Commonwealth Union, restored the control of the Scottish Parliament through the Lords of the Articles, and brought into being a Parliament which, in an intoxication both alcoholic and loyal, swept away at a single stroke every act passed by its predecessors in the previous quarter-century.

The Privy Council regained its old supremacy and its secretary became the most powerful official. The post was given to the Earl of Lauderdale, who had been a Covenanter, had come over to the king and fought at Worcester, and possessed all the hereditary Maitland skill in affairs. At one moment reading the Testament in Hebrew, at another performing a skirt dance to amuse his royal master, this cynical, disreputable, and extraordinary man had no particular desire to reinstate prelacy, was probably quite unimpressed when Charles told him that presbytery was no religion for a gentleman, but was above all things determined to keep his place.

Episcopacy was restored in Scotland mainly as a result of the intrigues of James Sharp, a Presbyterian minister who arrived in London as representative of

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the moderates in the church and left it Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland. Lay patronage was revived and an act passed ordering all ministers placed within the previous twelve years to receive their charge afresh from the patron of the living and the bishop of the diocese. Argyll, the arch-Presbyterian, was executed; other Covenanting leaders were excluded from an Act of Indemnity or crippled by heavy fines. But now a hitch occurred. There was still life in Presbyterianism. Three hundred ministers, about a third of the total number, resigned their charges rather than submit to patron and prelate.

As this was the first of a series of events which culminated in one of the cruellest religious persecutions in history, it is as well to understand at once that much less was at stake now than in Laud's time.

There was no attempt to introduce the Prayer Book, the altar, the surplice, confirmation by bishops or the order of deacons. The mode of Presbyterian worship was undisturbed; the presbyteries remained, though subordinated to the bishops. The whole revolution was political in purpose and character: the bishop was an official introduced to give the state control of a potential rival, and nothing more. In the mood with which the country greeted the restoration there was an excellent chance that the change would be carried through without serious trouble. The condemnation of Charles's government is that it converted the objections of a few fanatics into armed rebellion and changed the tolerance of the indifferent many to sympathy and indignation.

"Curates", raw, ill-educated youths for the most part, were installed in the churches left vacant by the ejected ministers. The peasantry, reared in an intensely theological atmosphere and highly critical

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of the intellectual attainments of its pastors, stayed away from the churches, preferring the open-air services conducted by the expelled men. These conventicles were prohibited and those who failed to go to church felt the weight of the temporal arm when dragoons descended on them to extract fines and free quarters. The south-west counties were the heart of presbyterian extremism, as the north-east had been of episcopalian sentiment.

The exploits of an officer named Sir James Turner finally roused the Galloway peasantry into overt rebellion. There was nothing very formidable about this spontaneous rising of a few thousand maddened country fellows who marched on Edinburgh in pouring November rain and were scattered at Rullion Green below the Pentland Hills. Yet the pitiful affair, which should merely have taught the authorities that temperate measures and patience would give them all they wanted, was followed by a revolting exhibition of severity. Thirty of the prisoners were executed, the rest transported to the Barbados; two were subjected to the hideous torture of the "boot". Even more objectionable was the blackmail extorted from suspects, which gave to officials a direct interest in rebellion. Landowners were made responsible for their tenants' behaviour and for conventicles held on their lands.

Lauderdale assumed the supreme office of Commissioner after Rullion Green, and persecution slackened for a time while he attempted to win back the ejected ministers with a Letter of Indulgence. But only a few of them took this chance to make their peace with episcopacy. After this failure, repression in its most violent form returned, the whole repertory of penal acts against Roman Catholics being used against the Presbyterian recusants. Conventicles were now armed

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gatherings ; clearly that rebellion was nearer which Lauderdale sought to provoke so that he " might bring over an army of Irish Papists to cut all their throats ". Between the grim, and ever grimmer, fanatics of the south-west and the drunken, irresponsible rulers at Edinburgh, there was little hope of happiness or decency returning to Scottish life. Men like Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, were alien to the time, for Leighton actually believed that it was more important a man should be a Christian than that he should be a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian. He had asked leave to resign his see of Dunblane because " he could not concur in the planting the Christian religion in such a manner " and staggered his episcopal clergy by bidding them " lay aside all appetites of revenge, to humble themselves before God."

The climax of Lauderdale's campaign of oppression and studied provocation came when he sent the " Highland Host ", a force of 6,000 Highlanders and 3,000 Lowland militia, to take up free quarters in Ayrshire. The Commissioner's friends drew lots for the estates which would fall by forfeit after the expected insurrection, but after a month the Highlanders withdrew, loaded with spoil but disappointed of their rebellion. The catastrophe was not far off, however ; the mood of desperation was ripening slowly into frenzy.

On May 3rd, 1679, Archbishop Sharp was murdered by men who regarded themselves as executioners deputed by the Almighty. Less than a month later, cavalry under a conscientious officer in the royal service, John Graham of Claverhouse, came upon an armed conventicle at Drumclog and were routed. Here, at last, was rebellion, open and undisguised. Desperate men swelled the ranks of the

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insurgents to 6,000 ; the militia of the loyal counties were called up, and the Duke of Monmouth marched from England with regular troops. At Bothwell Bridge on the Clyde, he encountered the rebels, weakened by grotesque dissensions, their camp full of ministers preaching and praying against one another. No one troubled to see if ammunition had been served out for the battle. When the untrained horses of the rebel cavalry stampeded at the noise of the cannon, the day was lost. A thousand prisoners were kept in Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh for five months, at the end of which time those who refused to give a pledge not to take up arms against the king—several hundred—were shipped to the plantations.

Lauderdale was removed from the commissionership after Bothwell Bridge and the Duke of York, the king's brother, took his place. A Catholic persecutor had replaced a Presbyterian. But there was no change in the quality of the persecution ; if anything it was blacker and more bigoted than before. The Presbyterians who had not made terms with the government were now a tiny knot of outlaws, their home the hills and the heather, their probable end a bullet from a firing party. These " Society People ", under their leaders Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron (from whom they took their name of " Cameronians ") declared war on the king and his government. To Sanquhar Market Cross they fixed a declaration disowning Charles Stewart on the ground of his " perjury and breach of Covenant to God and His Kirk ". Cameron was hunted down by dragoons and died fighting. Cargill at a conventicle in Stirlingshire excommunicated the king, the Duke of York, Monmouth, and Lauderdale. He was executed in

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Edinburgh on "the most joyful day," as he called it, "that ever I saw in my pilgrimage on earth".

Three years afterwards, the remnant of these poor fanatics, whose insane ecstasy was lit by visions and prophecies, issued an "Apologetical Declaration" claiming the right to kill those who sought their lives. The Government had never lacked courts of justice that would carry out their measures of repression and in Sir George Mackenzie ("Bluidy Mackenzie") they had an advocate who could conveniently forget his own dictum "that to punish the body for that which is the guilt of the soul is as unjust as to punish one relation for another". Now martial law was declared in the disaffected area and a suspect was simply asked if he abjured the "Apologetical Declaration". "Yes" meant further examination; "no" levelled the carbines of the dragoons.

A few weeks after the Duke of York's arrival in Scotland a parliament met—the first in nine years—which passed two important Acts. The first, an Act of Succession, declared that no difference in religion could alter the right of succession to the crown. The second, or Test Act, enjoined that a "test" should be taken by all who held office in Church or State. They were to remain faithful to the Protestant religion of the first Confession of Faith, to abjure the Covenant, to defend all the rights of the king and to deal with no civil or ecclesiastical matter unless by his consent. This document contradicted itself in almost every clause; for example, obedience to the king could not possibly be squared with the first Confession of Faith. Yet when the Earl of Argyll said that he took the test "as far as it was consistent with itself" he was found guilty of treason for misconstruing the king's laws and escaped execution by a timely prison-breaking.

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The last years of Charles's reign saw no mitigation of the persecution. Every Presbyterian minister was ejected from his parish; those—the vast majority—who refused to promise that they would not preach, were thrown into prison. In 1685 the King's Commissioner became King as James VII over a people impoverished in some areas by fines and exactions, disgusted with the brutality of its government and driven back by repression into a gloomy absorption in theology and ecclesiastical politics. Scotland had lost a century of civilisation, her religion was warped and darkened,—largely through attempts, conceived in London, to re-build her Church on English models.

It is an odd irony that Presbyterianism was saved by the accession to the throne of a Roman Catholic king. The country would probably in a few decades have accepted the existence of an episcopacy which was little more than a branch of the civil service. The old power and enthusiasm of Presbyterianism, with its half-realised republican and democratic implications, was broken: the Cameronians, that tiny remnant of desperadoes, hunted like partridges on the mountains, were there to prove it. When Argyll returned from Holland to raise his own people against the king, as part of Monmouth's bid for the throne, he found little support and was easily taken and executed.

But James was not content for long to leave things as they were, though his first Parliament, whose election had been manipulated in the usual manner, passed a yet severer act against the recusants, threatening all who took part in conventicles with death and confiscation. The high offices of State were filled by Roman Catholic peers and, in its second session, Parliament was asked to repeal the penal statutes against Catholics, an invitation which it respectfully

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declined. The king by an exercise of his prerogative issued a Letter of Indulgence suspending all the laws against Catholics. Eleven Protestants were removed from the Privy Council ; mass was celebrated openly and the Chapel Royal at Holyrood was equipped as a Catholic place of worship. At Holyrood, too, a Catholic printing press was set up under Sir Roger L'Estrange. These measures having united against him Presbyterians and Episcopalians, James issued a second Letter of Indulgence extending liberty of worship to Protestant nonconformists as well as Catholics. This "gracious and surprising favour" merely strengthened the Presbyterian party by bringing back its exiled ministers.

XVII

THE PRESBYTERIAN TRIUMPH AND THE DARIEN DREAM

THE Revolution which drove James from the throne and placed on it his daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, William of Orange, is an event belonging to English history. Yet it revealed that in Scotland the king had no party worth talking about. The Estates, meeting in Convention, declared its right to depose a monarch who had ruled unconstitutionally and offered the crown to William and Mary. The Edinburgh mob sacked the offensive popish Chapel Royal and in the west two hundred Episcopalian "curates" were evicted from their manses and ordered not to show their faces in the district again. Considering all that the west had suffered, it was a mild retaliation.

When he took the Coronation oath, William made it clear that he had no intention of filling the rôle of persecutor. The Episcopalians being for the most part against him, it was natural that he should favour Presbyterianism ; his chaplain, William Carstares, who when exiled in Holland had gained the ear of the Prince, advocated the establishing of a Presbyterianism which would leave other Protestants free to worship after their own lights. On the other hand, the Church of England would regard with extreme disquiet the fate of its episcopal sister of Scotland, the Cameronians would not be satisfied with anything short of a Church on the good old persecuting Presbyterian model, and the Episcopalians would be driven headlong into the

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arms of the Jacobite party. In the end, William took the politic step which assumed that the temper of the country favoured a moderate Presbyterianism. The ejected ministers were restored, presbytery was declared to be the ecclesiastical polity of the State Church, patronage was abolished. Two hundred of the Episcopalian ministers were removed because of their refusal to pray for the new king and queen; action against the remainder was taken by the General Assembly. The new feature of this persecution was that it was entirely directed against the clergy; no action was taken against Episcopalian laymen who were free to worship in their own way, though not in the parish churches. In 1690 the Church of Scotland in its modern guise came into existence. Five years later it was recognised that there was no chance of securing complete conformity among Protestants in Scotland. Episcopalian clergymen were allowed to retain their livings on condition that they took the "Assurance" recognising William as king *de jure* as well as *de facto*. Fifteen years afterwards, there were still more than a hundred Episcopalian ministers in Scottish livings. The Presbyterians objected just as strongly as the Episcopalians to the "Assurance", detecting in it the claim of royal supremacy over the Church against which they had fought ever since the Reformation. William was compelled to abandon his intention of extracting the oath from every minister attending the General Assembly.

The early years of William's reign were by no means free of anxiety. The mass of the people were indifferent; the Episcopalians hostile. Many of the nobility were in correspondence with the exiled James. Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, was not the only man who failed to detect "any shadow of

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appearance of stability in this new structure of government these men have framed to themselves." Dundee left the Convention Parliament to raise the Highlands for James—the name of Graham had a sound of good omen in Celtic ears since Montrose. In the pass of Killiecrankie with 3,000 clansmen he met the government General Mackay and routed his raw troops with a charge. But the Jacobite leader was killed in the onset and the rising died with him.

An affair with a deeper significance than this was the attack on Dunkeld by 5,000 Highlanders under Dundee's successor, an officer named Cannon. For Dunkeld was defended by the newest and strangest regiment in the Scots Army, the Cameronians, who had been enlisted from among the fanatical remnant of the "Apologetical Declaration". Their officers were men of their own faith; every non-commissioned officer was an elder. These zealots opposed to the élan of the clansmen a cold fury which had been beaten out in the years of persecution. Lead was stripped from the roof of the Cathedral when ammunition ran short; the houses occupied by the enemy were fired. And in the end the Highlanders retreated in disorder pursued by the sounds of an exultant psalm.

Another incident in the pacification of the Highlands brought upon William's administration its greatest shame. Danger still threatened from the chiefs, and there was talk of a French landing on the west coast. When £12,000 had been spent in buying the loyalty, or at least, the neutrality of doubtful clans, a severer measure was taken: every recalcitrant chief must take the oath of allegiance by the 1st of January, 1692, or expose himself to "the utmost extremity of the law".

In the last days of December, 1691, Alexander

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Macdonald, chief of a small clan dwelling in the pass of Glencoe, made his way to Fort William to take the oath. Since there was no sheriff at Fort William, he was told by the commander of the fort to go to Inveraray which, the roads being blocked by snow, he did not reach until the 6th of January. He was allowed to take the oath, however, when he explained what had happened. The matter had apparently been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. But one or two men had still to have their word. One was Sir John Dalrymple, under-secretary of state, who was firmly of opinion that only by a terrible example could the government ensure against future rebellion in the Highlands. And what more fortunate than that the example should be made of "a damnable sept, the worst in all the Highlands!" Another was the Earl of Breadalbane, the agent who had distributed the £12,000 and was incensed because the keen bargaining of the chiefs had left him with nothing for his own pocket. William did not know that Macdonald had taken the oath and did not enquire. He signed the "letters of fire and sword" which his under-secretary presented to him.

On the 1st of February, Macdonald's village was visited by a party of soldiers who produced orders for quartering, until the 13th they enjoyed the hospitality of the unsuspecting Macdonalds; at four o'clock on the morning of that day they did the work they had been sent to do. Thirty-eight people were butchered, including the chief, his wife and his sons, another woman, and two children. Others died in the snow.

There had been massacres and treacheries in the Highlands before, but here the bloodiest traditions of Highland war were revived by the government! The

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deed was made even more repulsive by the legal juggleries which preceded it and by the fact that hereditary enemies of the Macdonalds were deliberately chosen to carry out the government's instructions. In the hands of Jacobite pamphleteers and the numerous others who wished to discredit the administration, the massacre assumed its proper proportions as an act of calculated barbarity done by command of the custodians of law and order. William could not be made to realise that his officials had committed a crime or that they merited the severest punishment. After one attempt to hush the matter up he granted a Commission of Enquiry as a result of whose findings Dalrymple was deprived of his office and Breadalbane committed to prison but never tried.

For a century Scotland had been one vast theological debate. It was to be so no more. In 1695 two acts were passed which, by the contrast between them, indicate the rapidity of the transition that was going on. The first was a renewal of a horrible old statute which imposed the death penalty for the offence of blasphemy thrice committed ; the second established the Bank of Scotland.

In one great enterprise the new spirit found its embodiment. The imagination of the entire nation was captured by a commercial venture on the grand scale ; a fervour was stirred vying with that roused by the National Covenant ; pride felt the final tragedy like a disaster in war.

It was not the first of those enterprises which have made the Scots one of the greatest races of colonisers in the world. There were still, in 1611, Scots archers on guard over the king of France ; thirteen Scots regiments fought for Gustavus Adolphus ; by the middle of the century there were thousands of Scotsmen

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in the Low Countries, trading, studying, soldiering or evading the penalties of theological eccentricity. In Finland, Poland, Russia, and Germany there were thousands more. In 1610, following a rebellion of the native population, the celebrated "Plantation of Ulster" began, and fifty-nine Scottish gentlemen obtained 81,000 acres. Thirty years later it was estimated that there were 40,000 able-bodied Scots in the north of Ireland.

The first purely Scottish colonial adventure was embarked upon by Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, an ingenious, busy, optimistic gentleman who had written poems good enough to win praise from Drummond of Hawthornden, dabbled in finance, and ventured some money in a Linlithgowshire silver mine. In 1624 his *Encouragement to Colonies* was published to fire Scotsmen with the advantages of colonising Nova Scotia, a somewhat vague territory in North America, for which Sir Alexander had obtained a patent from King James to found a colony attached to the Crown of Scotland. To attract capitalists a special order of baronets was created by the king: by paying six thousand marks or sending out six men and maintaining them for two years in the colony a man could become a baronet and could take seisin of his distant lands on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. The settlement was finally abandoned to France, which sought a nursery for its navy, in a return for the payment of 400,000 crowns owing on Queen Henrietta Maria's dowry. The first Scottish colonial project, like the last, was sacrificed to exigencies of English policy.

Cape Breton Island was the scene of another abortive colonial scheme. It was granted in 1621 to Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, who called it

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“New Galloway”; in 1629 Lord Ochiltree sailed to found a settlement on the island. About the same time a French expedition under a Captain Daniel had left Dieppe for the same destination. Daniel made a sudden and, as the Scots claimed, a perfidious descent on the Scottish settlement and wiped it out; the great French fortress of Louisbourg was later built on its site.

The transportees that Cromwell shipped after Dunbar and Worcester and the recusants who following during the persecutions did well in New England and the West Indies. The persecution of the Quakers, especially in Aberdeenshire, was the incentive which drove Robert Barclay of Urie to acquire East New Jersey, which became a refuge for those who felt the weight of the government's ecclesiastical tyranny. Propagandist literature painted the attractions of the colony in glowing colours; Scot of Pitlochrie, a gentleman who had been fined for attending conventicles, published a “model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey” and had recruiting agents at work all over the country. Before long the Scots were an important enough element in the colony to have one-third of the places on the governor's council. In another American colony, South Carolina, Scotsmen were also prominent.

Although, by the Navigation Act and the Staple Act, Scottish ships were excluded from England's colonial trade, smuggling was carried on on a considerable scale. In 1695 the customs agent in Scotland reported that there were twenty-four Scottish vessels trading with the tobacco plantations; all the tobacco of Philadelphia, complained an English official “is engrossed by the Scotch merchants.” But the very existence of this profitable traffic only served to

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emphasise to Scotsmen the disadvantages which they suffered through not possessing plantations of their own. In 1693 an act gave powers to establish trading companies similar to the great English and Dutch concerns.

A Scottish merchant in London named Chiesley saw that an opportunity had been created for the founding of a Scottish East India Company which could break into the monopoly of the English East India Company. He mentioned the idea to William Paterson, a versatile fellow-countryman, who had perhaps been both a missionary and a buccaneer in the West Indies and was certainly the originator of the Bank of England. The Scots Parliament in 1695 passed an "Act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies" granting it a perpetual monopoly of trade with Africa and Asia, and a 31 years' monopoly of American trade. Colonies might be planted in any territory not already in the possession of a European sovereign; should any foreign power injure the company the King was to demand reparation. Although eleven of the twenty-one promoters named in the Act lived in London, one-half at least of the capital of £600,000 was to be reserved for Scots. The English portion of the capital was over-subscribed in a few days.

In the beginning, therefore, the company was an English project, a stratagem of London interlopers to circumvent the monopoly of the East India Company. But the East India Company, alarmed by the prospect of competition from a rival with equal powers, used its dearly purchased influence in Parliament. At the threat of bills to penalise Englishmen who engaged in "the stock management of the Scots East India Company", to prohibit English seamen from serving it and English shipbuilders from building for it, practically all the English subscribers withdrew. But now

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Scottish pride was awakened. Amid scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm the sum of £400,000 was subscribed for an enterprise which Scotland had neither the financial resources, the experience, nor the military strength to carry through. An attempt to raise the balance of £200,000 in Hamburg was defeated by the action of the English resident who assured the senate that assistance to the Scots would be regarded as an affront to the king. William had already dismissed from office the Commissioner in Scotland who had touched with the sceptre the Act establishing the company.

The withdrawal of the English subscribers left the guidance of the company to Paterson, who had the imagination to see that a settlement on the isthmus of Panama could become a key to the commerce of the world. To understand the proceedings of the few months that followed it is necessary to imagine a nation in a fever of hurt pride and thwarted ambition and a man whose talent and wide commercial experience were blotted out by the apocalyptic vision which possessed him. When Paterson arrived in Edinburgh "he had more respect paid to him than the King's High Commissioner, and happy was he or she that had a quarter of an hour's conversation with this blessed man." The comparatively modest scheme to establish an oriental trade was lost in the mightier and vastly more compelling dream of founding a Scottish colony at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama, that supreme site in the strategy of world commerce. Dream magnificent and doomed! For, even if fevers and natives could be overcome there remained the facts that a settlement on the isthmus would be regarded by Spain as intrusion amounting to an act of war and that William would be

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committing suicide if he drove Spain into the arms of his arch-enemy, Louis XIV of France.

On the 26th of July, 1698 a little fleet of three vessels, the *Caledonia*, the *St. Andrew*, and the *Unicorn*, set sail from Leith with twelve hundred emigrants on board, and as the seed from which the harvest of El Dorado was to sprout, a cargo consisting mainly of blue bonnets, Bibles, and four thousand periwigs. Optimism or economy had cut the provisions down below a reasonable minimum; much of that which was carried proved to be unfit for consumption. At Madeira the officers bartered coats and swords for wine and food. On the 3rd of November the shores of the Gulf of Darien were annexed and named New Caledonia. By mid-June of the following year shortage of provisions, pestilence born of bad water, and divided councils forced an abandonment of the settlement on the nine hundred surviving colonists. Paterson, his wife dead of fever, himself a stricken man, protested and argued to the last, but the Spaniards were known to be preparing an attack and, six months earlier, William had sent orders to the colonial officials, forbidding them to give any assistance to the Scots.

A few weeks later, a second expedition, the *Olive Branch* and the *Hopeful Binning of Bo'ness* with three hundred colonists and stores aboard arrived at Darien to find that the tropical vegetation was already overgrowing over the fire-blackened huts of the deserted settlement. Not a man nor a cannon looked out from the ramparts of Fort St. Andrew. The tale of disaster was only beginning, however. As she lay off the fateful coast, the *Olive Branch* was destroyed by fire; her consort took the colonists to Jamaica where most of them died of fever. Meantime disease had attacked the first fleet on its homeward voyage.

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Three hundred and fifty out of six hundred reached New York; a hundred and seventy out of three hundred reached Jamaica.

The news of the disaster to the first expedition did not prevent the departure of a third. But now to disease and dissension was added the menace of a Spanish attack. While bickering councillors destroyed any faint hope of success that remained, the Spanish forces from Portobello and Panama closed round the doomed settlement and eleven Spanish warships blocked the mouth of the harbour. Yet from the military point of view the Darien adventure was to be creditable. Captain Alexander Campbell of Finab carried through one successful sally and, in spite of hunger, thirst, and fever, the beleaguered garrison held out for a month and capitulated on honourable terms, sailing "with colours flying and drums beating, together with their arms and ammunition, and with all their goods." It would be well if the story ended there.

But, on the return voyage, three of the ships foundered and the fourth was sold at Cartagena, having sprung a leak. Darien had cost Scotland two thousand lives and over £200,000, a sum greater than the whole capital invested in other joint-stock companies since the Restoration. Public opinion was intensely embittered against England and William as a result of the failure. It was touch and go whether a complete divorce between the two kingdoms would come.

The existing position was absurd: if England was at peace, no Scottish act was to be permitted to endanger her amicable relations with her neighbours; but if England was at war, then Scotland must not trade with her enemies, even if those enemies happened to be France and Holland, the best customers of the northern kingdom. The anomaly was more irritating

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because, in the words of Fletcher of Saltoun, "by an unforeseen and unexpected change of the genius of the nation all their thoughts and inclinations seem to be turned upon trade." In Charles II's Dutch wars an embargo was placed on Scottish trade: in William's French wars Scottish craft suffered from English privateers. Nor could Scotland compensate herself for this interference with her traditional commerce by the profits of an Oriental traffic (though by this time her ships were seen in the Mediterranean). From the trade with the American plantations she was also barred by the Navigation Acts, although Scotsmen could settle and trade in these colonies and were occasionally found as officials.

The Company of Scotland trading with Africa and the Indies was only one of many joint-stock companies which came into existence at this time to witness to the new commercial zeal of the nation. Acts of parliament encouraged enterprises of this kind by freeing the stock of taxation, raw material of import duties, and employees of military service. Sugar refineries and rum distilleries, linen and silk factories, the first successful paper mill (1694) and soap works were opened. Fishery companies were started from a recognition that Scotland had too long permitted the Dutch to enjoy the monopoly of the fishing off her coasts. They did not meet with any striking success, for a few years later we find Defoe solemnly reminding the Scots:—

When Caledonians, when will you be wise,
And search for *certain wealth* in Native Seas?
A Wealth by Heav'n design'd for *none but you*.
A Wealth that does your very Hands pursue,
Upbraids You with Neglect of Your own Right,
And courts *Invading Neighbours in your Sight*.

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A woollen factory was opened at Newmills (1681) to compete with the imported fine English cloth. It sought contracts for the Scottish soldiers' uniforms, beginning to be worn now "to distinguish", as the Privy Council put it, "sojers from other skulking and vagrant persons". The dragoons of General Dalzell were clothed in grey cloth, the product of this factory. The Bank of Scotland owes its birth to an Englishman, John Holland. It was founded in 1695 with a paid-up capital of £120,000 Scots, the first private joint-stock bank wholly unconnected with the State and "formed for the purpose of making a trade of banking".

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Scotland was still a country of only 800,000 or, at most a million inhabitants. Her agriculture was hampered by methods which had not changed appreciably for centuries, thanks chiefly to a system of short leases which made the tenant chary of improving his land since that would involve only an increase of rent. Considerable tracts of what was later to be the best land were still undrained. Only in Lothian were hedges or stone walls features of the landscape. Bere, an inferior barley, was the principal crop; flax and hemp the most profitable. The live-stock had declined in quality.

In industry and commerce, an obsolete mediævalism stifled enterprise. The royal burghs fought, with temporary success, for their rights in the staple trades against the new communities which new conditions were calling into existence. And within the burghs, the merchants and the craftsmen were rivals in everything but their unanimous assertion that only members of their various corporations had the right to make and to sell.

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The Convention of Royal Burghs remained a potent instrument of burghal and therefore of economic government, but it was declining as Parliament undertook more commercial legislation, as the movements in world trade diminished the importance and wealth of many of the royal burghs and as the mediæval conception of the guild died its slow and lingering death. The Staple remained, a waning relic of a vanished age ; soon the post of conservator was to be only a sinecure granted to persons, needy and perhaps deserving, with a claim on the generosity of the administration.

Guilds and craft corporations, burghs and convention, and all the obsolete conceptions of commerce with which they were inextricably bound up, stood in the way of the free play of the national talent for commerce. When every allowance for the inferior resources of the country has been made, an explanation has still to be sought for the failure of Scotland to keep abreast of her neighbours in economic development. It may not unreasonably be found in the absorption with ecclesiastical politics which since the Reformation had characterised the nation and particularly those classes most concerned with trade and agriculture. But a change was coming. The future lay with Glasgow, its growing fleet, and its new harbour at Port Glasgow, with the manufactures now passing through a troubled infancy, with the country gentlemen who were beginning to enclose their fields and to bring in the improved methods of cultivation which they had seen in England and on the Continent.

XVIII

THE END OF AN OLD SONG

“WHY should I be sad on my wedding day?” enquired the bells of St. Giles plaintively. It was the 1st of May, 1707, the day on which a Treaty of Union between the Parliaments of Scotland and England came into force. William had been dead five years; seven years had passed since the tragedy of Darien reached its climax, fifteen since the murders of Glencoe. Events had moved swiftly to bring union out of deepened hostility and division. How had it come about, this momentous surprise which, a short decade before it was realised, seemed the most fantastically improbable thing in the world?

The union of the crowns came because Queen Elizabeth had no children; the union of the Parliaments because Queen Anne had seventeen children, who died. If the great English families who had brought about the Revolution were to escape ruin, it was necessary that the succession to the throne should ignore the Catholic heirs of the house of Stewart. An Act of Settlement, passed in 1701, had therefore vested the succession in the Protestant Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her descendants. But there was no reason why the Scottish parliament should decide to follow obediently in England's footsteps. There were, on the other hand, reasons why it should either take the opportunity of breaking off the association with England altogether, or exact a heavy price for its acquiescence. The temper of

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the people was intensely anti-English, more so than it had been at any time since the Solemn League and Covenant. And the Scots Parliament, thanks to the abolition of the Lords of the Articles, was now less susceptible to court influence or manipulation from London. Scotland on her part had demands to put forward: the right to go to war or remain at peace as her Parliament should determine. It was certain that these questions would arise as soon as the Scottish Parliament became something more than an antechamber of the court and a somewhat uncertain but, on the whole, manageable member of the pair which drew the British coach. The peculiar circumstances of Anne's reign brought to a head a problem which might have remained in solution for half a century or longer. There were no pressing economic reasons for union—the trade with the plantations apart,—England was not an important Scottish market; union would not solve the grave economic problems of Scotland, as Defoe, sent to Edinburgh as a propagandist for union, recognised.

The Union was a measure initiated from England and pressed forward by England. It arose out of the necessities and fears of the dominant English party; it was not designed, as sometimes one might suppose, to benefit Scotland. Even the Darien disaster had come as a chill reminder to the English mercantile class that Scotland, given a happier conjunction of circumstances, might become a formidable commercial rival. Leaving the succession question aside, English statesmen could not contemplate with equanimity the prospect of sharing a sovereign with a kingdom which might remain neutral in England's wars, initiate wars and alliances on her own account, or even take the side of England's enemies. While

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the union negotiations were in progress, England was engaged in a momentous war with France. The logic of the situation pointed to a closer union, furnishing the dual monarchy with an organ which would deal with those questions, such as war, peace, treaties, succession, and (possibly) colonial trade, which were common interests. Some of the best brains in Scotland were aware of this federal solution ; it did not become a practical issue, being swept aside by a harsher choice.

The first hint of trouble came in 1702 when the Scottish Parliament declined emphatically to follow England's example and pass an Act of Abjuration against the Pretender.

The question of Union was not an issue at the election for the next Parliament, which was destined to carry the Union through. Scotland being mainly concerned at that time with the threat to Presbyterianism detected in an English Act depriving dissenters of civil status, a strong Presbyterian majority was returned. This is important, for Parliament now took its character from a party for which church came traditionally before nation, which could not sincerely oppose a Protestant succession, and which had close associations with the commercial class.

This Parliament took the step that made a Union inevitable. By the Act of Security, passed by a majority of 59 in a house of 235 members, the Estates were to name the successor to the throne twenty days after the death of the reigning sovereign. This successor was to be a Protestant, a descendant of the house of Stewart, but *not* the person chosen by England unless Scotland were given equal rights of trade with England and liberty in government and religion. Able-bodied men were to be armed and drilled in preparation for the contingencies which this defiant measure

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adumbrated. Tempers ran high in the tapestry-lined Parliament Hall as the government sought to wriggle out of the awkward position in which it was placed. Long sittings took place by candlelight, the public beyond the bar showed by its shouts of approval that it favoured the Act. Finally the Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, announced that the Queen could not assent to the Act, and prorogued Parliament. The vote of supplies had been refused, so that the Scottish Army went without pay.

The core of the national resistance was in the Country Party led by a county member named Fletcher of Saltoun, a laird who had mingled military adventure in Hungary with political speculation, and who had taken part in the Monmouth rebellion. None appreciated better than he that the present state of things could not go on. "It is not the prerogative of a king of Scotland I would diminish, but the prerogative of English ministers over the nation", he had said when endeavouring to press "Twelve Limitations" of the prerogative on a Parliament which was far from sharing his republican views. He was in favour of a federal union.

At a second session of Parliament in 1704, a new ministry with the Marquis of Tweeddale as Commissioner attempted the impossible task of getting supply voted (vital at that time, for the French war had reached its most critical stage, and the Scottish army was on the verge of mutiny) while still withholding the royal assent to the Act of Security. Finally, on the advice of the English minister Godolphin, the Queen gave her assent to the measure and supply was voted. By this time the English Parliament had awakened to the fact that the situation in Scotland had become dangerous. The Act of Security was a vindication of

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national honour and a reminder to the world at large that Scotland was not a province of England. An Act passed both English Houses providing that, unless the Crown of Scotland was settled by Christmas Day, 1705, all Scotsmen would be treated as aliens and all Scottish imports forbidden. Nothing seemed more certain than that the two countries were drifting to war: pamphlets were published in London urging that Scotland be reduced by arms and annexed. Among the Government party in Scotland were to be found men who thought, with Stair, that Scotland should be filled with English troops. The temper of the ordinary Scotsman was revealed by an incident which deepened still further the hostility between the two peoples.

After Darien, the diminished African company had resumed its original character and had sent the *Speedwell* on an Asiatic voyage. The ill-luck which dogged every one of the company's enterprises again manifested itself: the ship ran aground at Malacca and became a total wreck. The *Annandale*, sent to take off her cargo, was seized in the Downs by English revenue men and judged forfeit by the Court of Exchequer—a gross illegality—under the laws protecting the English East India Company. Another vessel, the *Speedy Return*, returned neither speedily nor at all. Meanwhile an English warship was stopping and searching ships in the Firth of Forth.

This series of maritime incidents culminated when a storm-bound English trader, the *Worcester*, was captured in Leith Roads by an adventurous band led by Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, secretary of the African Company. This reprisal for the seizure of the *Annandale* took on a different complexion when the master, Captain Green, and the members of the *Worcester's* crew were put on trial on the suspicion

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that they had piratically seized the *Speedy Return* off the Malabar coast. The accusation rested on some dark and foolish observations made by a member of the crew named Hains, "after drinking a hearty bowl of punch in the main cabin". The trial revealed nothing, except that it was likely the *Worcester* had seized some ship off Malabar. Yet Captain Green and fourteen of his crew were sentenced to death by the Scottish High Court of Admiralty and, in the face of intense indignation in England and the entreaties of the Queen, the Privy Council yielded to the threats of the Edinburgh mob and carried out the sentence on the captain and two of his officers. The true story of the *Speedy Return*, of which the Privy Council had some knowledge when they allowed the executions to take place, was that she had sailed with a cargo of slaves to the Isle of St. Mary, off Madagascar, a famous haunt of pirates, and had there been seized by buccaneers, the crew being transported to Arabia.

It was in an atmosphere heated by such events that the third session of the Scottish Parliament opened in June, 1705. The young Duke of Argyll, the laurels won in Marlborough's campaign still fresh on his brow, was Commissioner; two martyrs for Presbytery in his ancestry gave him a claim on the Presbyterians. The crafty Queensberry was Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Seafield, a handsome "younger son" with charm and no principles, Lord Chancellor. A new party, the *Squadrone Volante*, whose Italianate name (taken from a faction in the College of Cardinals) testifies to the cosmopolitan culture of the Scottish gentry of the period as well as to the flightiness of their politics, emerged in this session.

There seemed so little chance that Parliament would listen to proposals for Union at such a time that

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Godolphin had urged the Scottish ministers to concentrate on the question of succession. But Queensberry, for one, was of a different opinion and voted that the succession should not be discussed until trade relations were regulated. Among other things, the English Aliens Act was beginning to take effect and thousands of Scottish drovers were cut off from the customary market for their cattle. An "Act for a Treaty with England" was introduced and carried, after a month of debate in which, to quote one member "We were often in the form of a Polish Diet with our swords in our hands, or at least our hands at our swords". The Duke of Hamilton, an unstable politician who had posed as the leader of the patriotic opposition, turned traitor to his party at the moment of crisis. The fateful vote was taken late in the evening when many of the members had left the house, encouraged by Hamilton to think that the division would not occur that day. In an address to the Queen, Parliament requested that the offensive Aliens Act should be repealed to smooth the path of negotiation. Before the year was ended, this had been complied with.

When the Scottish and English Commissioners who had been selected to frame the terms of Union met in the Cockpit in Whitehall the matter of a federal union was introduced. Though it had the favour of many responsible Scotsmen in addition to Fletcher of Saltoun—the Earl of Stair and Principal Carstares being two of them—it was instantly rejected by the English Commissioners: if they were to give the Scots equality in commerce with themselves they meant to exact a higher price for it. The Scots acquiesced, more tamely than they need have done. The Treaty took shape therefore as one for an incorporating union. The two kingdoms were to be united as Great Britain,

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in which there would be one parliament. The succession was to devolve on the house of Hanover. As a natural consequence of this incorporation Scotsmen would enjoy that of which the Navigation Acts had (with dubious legality) deprived them, freedom to trade with the Plantations. England had had distinctly the better of the bargaining: she had won on the Succession question, the starting-point of the whole train of events leading to the Union; she had, in addition, assured herself of Scotland for good by the predominance she must have in the joint Parliament. The Scots, for their Plantation trade, had paid double price. In the matter of parliamentary representation, Scotland was treated with shabbiness where, considering all that she was giving up, she was entitled to expect generosity. If proportion of populations had been the criterion, there should have been more than eighty Scots members; in the Commonwealth Union there were thirty Scottish constituencies. The English Commissioners offered thirty-eight—raised it to forty-five, an ungenerous offer which was reluctantly accepted. The implication of inequality of status between the two parties was repeated by the decision that only sixteen Scottish peers should sit as representatives of their order in the House of Lords.

The adjustment of fiscal questions between a country with a revenue of £160,000 and one with over five millions was necessarily difficult. It was agreed that, generally speaking, taxation should be equal, but the Scots scored a point when it was agreed that Scotland should only pay £12,000 for each shilling per pound levied in England, that is to say it should pay only one-fortieth of the English tax. From certain other taxes Scotland was exempted. Finally, to recompense her for the share she must take in the English

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National Debt (over seventeen millions as compared with Scotland's £160,000) an "Equivalent" of £398,085 10s. was to be paid her. This sum was to be used to pay off the Scottish national debt and to compensate those who had lost money in the African Company, which was, however, to be wound up. It was the tit-bit which the Scottish commissioners took away with them from a conference in which, when every allowance has been made, they had conducted themselves with a deplorable stubbornness in what was trivial and temporary and a discreditable pliancy in matters which were vital and permanent. The English commissioners showed themselves easily the superior diplomatists ; over supremely important questions such as the incorporating union and the composition of the new Parliament they were adamant, over foolish little financial clauses like that of the Equivalent they displayed a disarming readiness to see the Scottish point of view. The Equivalent was only an act of bare justice from a country with a heavy debt: but it would be a potent bribe to penny-wise people and might even appear as revenge for Darien.

Scottish law courts and the feudal baron-courts were to remain ; the rights of the royal burghs were untouched. Coins, weights, and measures were to be uniform and on all flags the emblems of the two countries were to be united.

This was the Treaty which was presented to the last Scottish Parliament in October, 1706. Within the House, no one knew what might happen, though it was clear that all depended on the action of the Squadrone Volante, which held the scales. Outside, it was touch and go ; rioting might at any moment turn into a serious insurrection. The provost of

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Edinburgh, a Unionist, was pursued vengefully into his house. Daniel Defoe, English secret agent and pamphleteer, had a stone thrown at him when he put his head out of a window. Queensberry, the Commissioner, had stones thrown at his coach. The entire Scottish Army of less than three thousand disgruntled soldiers was either in the capital or close to it. Hamilton, in the popular view the leader of the opposition to the Treaty, was cheered whenever he passed in his chair; it is probably to him that Defoe refers when he writes: "The Boys and Mob were invited by a great Person, in a Melancholy Tone, to go in and see the ancient crown of Scotland, for that it would soon be carried away."

On the 1st of November battle was joined. The burghs and the county members were evenly divided; the Union was carried by nobles' votes. The Squadron had, in the moment of crisis, declared for the government. The fear of the church that a united Parliament would seek to impose an Anglican church government on Scotland had now to be met. An Act of Security was passed affirming that the Church was "to continue without any alteration with the people of this land in all succeeding generations." This Act was sufficient to lull most of the Presbyterian suspicions to rest. Article by article, the Treaty of Union was enacted, while, in the street, forbidden access to the Parliament Close, the mob roared and ministers of the Crown went in terror of their lives. Even Queensberry despaired of a Treaty which was so patently detested by the great mass of the people. There was rioting in Glasgow and other towns: men were armed and drilling; Jacobite agents began to show themselves in Edinburgh. It seemed only too likely that some decisive explosion of national

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emotion would reduce the proceedings of the Parliament, behind its rows of musketeers, to futility.

Addresses protesting against the Union began to pour in, "fit to make kites," in Argyll's contemptuous phrase: the Provost of Glasgow found refuge from a mob in a folding-bed. Edinburgh was in a ferment, a new rumour of revolt was heard every day; seamen from Leith arrived to join in the disorderly window-breaking, drum-beating mob that poured—somewhat aimlessly—through the streets. A disgruntled ex-officer who had lost everything in the Darien fiasco, Cunningham of Eckatt, arrived at the Cross Keys Tavern, the headquarters of the patriotic party, with a promise to lead seven thousand Cameronians to Edinburgh. He was given money and a time for assembly was fixed. At the last moment Hamilton sent secret instructions that the coup was to be postponed. He may have been moved by purely selfish considerations, or by his innate dislike for desperate measures, or by the knowledge that English cavalry had been sent to the Border by Marlborough. On the other hand, Cunningham figures to the extent of £100 in the list of those to whom money was distributed by the government. Whether he was bought off or was, from the beginning, an *agent provocateur* cannot be determined. An attempt to defeat the Act by summoning to Edinburgh an impressive gathering of the Scottish freeholders was countered by a proclamation declaring any such assembly seditious. Hamilton then proposed that the opposition, after a solemn protest against the Treaty had been read in the House should march out in a body and return no more. But when the time came Hamilton was confined to his room—with toothache. Had the plan been carried out the Government would not have

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proceeded with the Treaty. As it was, the last chance had gone.

The Scottish Parliament no longer existed. To meet an emergency, this tremendous and irrevocable thing was done; Scotland as a political entity was destroyed, although her electorate had not been consulted and although every scrap of evidence strengthens the conviction that popular feeling was bitterly opposed to the deed. If there was no armed revolt, it was because the opposition was composed of mutually hostile elements and because revolt, men realised, would probably bring a worse fate, —war with the victors of Ramillies and Blenheim or the return of a Catholic King.

The dead Parliament is to be regretted, however, not for what it had been—it had less than twenty years of effective life—but for what it might have been in the Scotland that was emerging. But Scotland had lost something much more important than a legislature with no very illustrious traditions; she had lost, for example, a capital, with all the elusive but intensely real advantages which derive from it. Scotsmen, through a long experience of minority, sometimes misunderstood, sometimes flattered, sometimes ignored, sometimes bullied, and sometimes justly dealt with, were to undergo a subtle psychological metamorphosis. Their political development as a nation was arrested at the beginning of its most interesting experiment. It is impossible to doubt that a people which had nurtured—to say nothing of Scots Law—two institutions so remarkable as the General Assembly and the Convention of Burghs would have impressed its individuality^{1,2} upon a legislature already different from that of England.

For that the Scottish character was still a distinct

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and strongly-marked thing, in no self-conscious way with aggressive assertion endeavouring to make up for inner doubt, but as a simple matter of fact which no one dreamt of arguing about, the history of the following century was to prove. The Scottish school of philosophy, to take an instance which occurs readily to the mind, showed how that character could give its own tinge to substance less susceptible of colour than most others.

But Scotland, arriving late at the school, had now to adapt herself to the political tradition of a people profoundly alien to her. With the passing of her political capital, and the duty of generating political thought and initiating legislation within her own boundaries, there also went the key to other activities of the mind. Her history was full of foreign influences, assimilated and stamped with her own genius; now the foreign influences were to come solely from one quarter and the power to dominate and mould them was to be increasingly lost. Most of the great nobles in her last Parliament had been educated at Scottish schools and universities, as her great lawyers had been trained at home and in Holland; henceforward, English education was to put its mark upon those classes in the nation which might naturally be expected to furnish its leaders.

As for the less obvious concomitants of Union, those affecting culture and intellectual life in Scotland, it is to be noted that the important literary and artistic affluence which made Edinburgh a capital city of the mind during part of the eighteenth century was organically linked with law courts and university (relics of capital status) and with the lingering and declining social traditions of a city which did not in a day forget that it had been the home of a Parliament and the head of a nation.

XIX

THE FIFTEEN AND THE FORTY-FIVE

A series of events in the British Parliament served to strengthen the view that the Union was not one of equal partners. The Scottish Privy Council was abolished. English treason law was made to apply to Scotland. In 1710 an Episcopalian minister, named Greenshields, who had made obstinate use of the Anglican liturgy at his services in Edinburgh, and had been shut in the Tolbooth for doing so, appealed for redress to the Court of Session which found that he had contravened the law of the land. He appealed again to the House of Lords which reversed the findings of the Scottish Court and in doing so departed from the letter of the Treaty of Union (which had, incredibly enough, set up no authority for amending or interpreting its clauses). An Act of Toleration to protect the episcopal church in Scotland increased the fears of an attack on Presbyterianism, as its astute Jacobite promoters had intended it should do. In the same year (1712) lay patronage was restored, in violation of the Act of Security. The mischief which this flagrant defiance of the Treaty worked in the Scottish church will be observed.

The curiously mean spirit in which Parliament interpreted the Treaty was shown again in its refusal to allow Scots peers who were also peers of the United Kingdom to sit in the House of Lords ; its contemptuous disregard for Scottish interests manifested itself

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in the imposition of a duty on the export of linen (the Scottish staple) and in the proposal to levy a tax of sixpence on every bushel of malt in spite of the fact that English malt fetched three times the price of Scots malt, and of the further fact that a special article of the Treaty made such a tax illegal. The bill went through, however, on the secret understanding that it was not to apply to Scotland.

Discontent with the Union had now spread to every class in the country and when a motion was put before the House of Lords (by Seafield, the author of that cynical epitaph on the Parliament he had helped to destroy, "There's ane end of ane auld sang") urging the dissolution of the Union it had all Scotland behind it. Four votes defeated it. The political opportunism which had brought about the Union was exposed by the support that this motion received from the very men who had carried the Union. The truth is that the Whigs now saw that the drift of things in the British Parliament did not assure the Protestant succession which they had hoped to secure by the Union. The death of Anne a year later laid these new fears to rest. George, Elector of Brunswick-Luneburg became king, to the confusion of Jacobite plotters; in Scotland the event was celebrated by a ball at Holyrood at which the Duchess of Argyll danced a reel with a Highland spy. The opportunity was, however, one that the Jacobites could not allow to pass. And Scotland, where the Protestant Lowlands were seething with discontent with the Union and the Highlands remained fast in the tradition of loyalty to the Stewarts, —Scotland was the pre-destined scene of a rising. In the beginning of 1715 ominous gatherings of armed Highlanders were reported and in Edinburgh, the

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whisper ran, saddles were being made for the Jacobite dragoons. Parliament suspended the Habeas Corpus Act and the corresponding Scottish Act of 1701; £100,000 was offered for the capture of the Pretender.

On August 2nd, John, Earl of Mar, disguised as a workman, stepped aboard a collier in London docks on his way to lead the rebellion against George I. A Privy Councillor under William, vigorous in thrusting the Act of Union through the Scots Parliament, an ardent Whig who had protested himself a "faithful and dutiful subject and servant" of the new monarch and who had yet been in correspondence with the Pretender for five years, this protean peer had already earned the sobriquet of "Bobbing John." At Aboyne he met the Highland chiefs, and a great hunt provided the opportunity to plan the revolt for the first week of September. The Government responded with a "Clan Act" threatening with forfeiture of estates any crown vassal who held treasonable correspondence; and preventing those convenient settlements in favour of children or other heirs which had taken the sting from earlier attainders.

At first the rebellion prospered; twelve thousand men obeyed the summons of their chiefs and flocked to the standard of James VIII. From his headquarters at Perth, which he fortified with the aid of a dancing master, Mar composed flamboyant proclamations, a task for which he was better fitted than for waging war. The French invasion of England which he expected was prevented by the death of Louis XIV, but news of a rising in the North of England persuaded him to abandon rhetoric for action. The most resolute of the Highland commanders, Mackintosh of Borlum, slipped across the Forth one night with over two thousand men. His orders were that he should

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join the English Jacobites but Mackintosh could not resist the temptation of surprising Edinburgh, a bold move which failed because Argyll, who commanded the Royal forces, rushed to the scene a force of dragoons and infantry mounted on farm horses. Mackintosh then fell back on the original plan; his force shared, mightily against their wills, in the surrender of the English rebels at Preston.

The news that large reinforcements of Dutch troops were on their way to join Argyll at length compelled Mar to risk battle. His eight thousand men met Argyll's force of less than four thousand at Sheriffmuir, a mile or two east of Dunblane, and a stupid, half-hearted engagement was fought, in which neither side could claim a victory. But Argyll held the road to the Lowlands, and Mar's army began to melt away, sick of the whole wearisome business. When the Pretender landed at Peterhead a month later there was no spirit left in the Jacobites, nor was James VIII the man to rouse enthusiasm. One evening at Montrose when news had come that Argyll's advanced guard had already reached Arbroath, he, Mar, and a few other nobles, slipped out to the ship which bore them to France, leaving their diminished army to make the best of the situation.

In the eleven years after 1725 a task of the first importance was carried out in the Highlands by General Wade. His "Disarming Act" might be circumvented by clansmen who only gave up weapons which they considered obsolete, but the two hundred and fifty miles of roads, which he constructed in the Highlands remain as a monument to him. Fort George (at Inverness), Fort Augustus, and Fort William held the line of the great geological "fault" dividing the mountain mass of the Highlands into two and

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called the Great Glen. One road joined these three strongholds ; another, the "Great Highland Road," ran from Inverness to Perth ; branches of it reached out to Fort Augustus and Crieff. The road had pierced the Highlands at last ; from now onwards the old order was doomed.

The last and most dramatic act of the Jacobite tragi-comedy was staged in a Scotland in which David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* was already being read. On the 5th of July, 1745 the Prince Charles Edward Stewart, son of the Pretender, set sail from Belle Isle with the sixty-four-gun *Elizabeth* and the brig *Doutelle*. "Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father," wrote Charles to the parent whom he had not consulted on this wild adventure. The *Elizabeth*, with the greater part of the arms and money aboard, put back to France after an engagement with a British man-of-war ; the *Doutelle*, favoured by the mist, reached the Outer Hebrides. "I *am* come home, sir," Charles retorted when Macdonald of Boisdale urged him to return home.

Charles and his seven companions were to do what Mar with twelve thousand failed to do ; they were to raise a rebellion which during fevered weeks threatened the very heart of the British Empire. But for a time it looked as if the mad escapade would fizzle out wretchedly. When he raised his standard at Glenfinnan, a bare nine hundred men—Camerons and Macdonalds—had joined him. But the magnetic power of a great personality and a natural leader of men did what the sentiment of loyalty to a dynasty could do no longer.

The Government, divided by the rivalries of Argyll and Tweeddale, blundered and delayed, while the

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insurrection swept southward. In all Scotland there were not three thousand troops and most of these were raw and unreliable. Their commander-in-chief, Sir John Cope, provided history with a classic example of military incompetency by marching to the Highlands with 1,500 men and then shirking battle with the rebels, now about 2,000 strong. He then continued his march to Inverness where, having contrived to get on the wrong side of his adversary, he and his force took ship in haste to the Forth. Charles, gaining notable adherents every day, made straight for Edinburgh.

The capital prepared to defend itself, although the Town Council, with a Jacobite majority, displayed no remarkable zeal in the cause. Maclaurin, professor of Mathematics at the University and a protégé of Sir Isaac Newton's, set about strengthening the walls; volunteers were enrolled and marched out to do battle amid the tears of the spectators, who saw those young men giving themselves up to certain death, a view which the patriots seem to have shared. One gallant writing-master is said to have pinned to his bosom a sheet of paper bearing the affecting legend, "This is the body of John Maxwell, pray give it Christian burial". The warlike spirit of the volunteers, refreshed at every ale-house, was not however put to the test of battle. The helter-skelter flight of a regiment of dragoons which alone had stood between Edinburgh and the insurgent army disposed the magistrates to diplomacy; ambassadors were despatched in a hackney coach and when the city gates opened to re-admit them, bearing a demand for unconditional surrender, an advance guard of Highlanders rushed in before the gates could be closed, and secured the port and the guardhouse. A few hours later, while

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Cope was landing his troops at Dunbar, Charles entered the capital of Scotland. At Prestonpans the Highland army routed Cope after ten minutes murderous work with the claymore.

Charles spent the next five weeks in Edinburgh. He reviewed his troops, now numbering five thousand, held councils, issued a proclamation in which the "pretended Union" was denounced, and had thoughts of calling a Parliament. But in the meantime British troops and foreign mercenaries were pouring into England from the Continent; Wade, the maker of the roads, was at Newcastle with 18,000 men. In Edinburgh the citizens remained aloof, a little frightened but more curious. All the Lowlands gave only three hundred recruits to Charles. Meanwhile Edinburgh Castle was held for the government and maintained its communications with the city during the occupation. The sole chance for the rebels, slight as it was, was to continue their swift southward advance in the hope that the Jacobitism of the Western English counties would be fired. Charles, with his kingly faith in his star, was probably the only man in the army that crossed the border who had the smallest hope of ultimate victory.

The conduct of the famous southward march which began at Dalkeith on November the 3rd and ended at Derby on December the 4th revealed the military skill of Charles' advisers,—but it did nothing else. Three hundred recruits from Manchester were all that Charles had to show for an expedition which brought him to within 130 miles of London. While the Bank of England paid in sixpences and the effigies of Highlanders outside the London tobacconists' shops were being burnt by angry mobs, Charles' advisers wrung from him the order to retreat. It

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is just as well as charitable to read in the later degradation of the Prince's character a measure of the price of that decision.

The end was now a brief four months away, but for a time neither fortune, skill, nor spirit deserted the Jacobite army, marching through a hostile country, threatened by two forces, each one of which outnumbered it, dogged by the sense of failure and the spectre of retribution. It slipped past Wade, showed Cumberland a clean pair of heels, and when the flooded Esk was crossed (twelve abreast, with arms locked), and Scottish soil reached, celebrated the event with pipes and dancing. Only forty men had been lost in England, a fact which would give the campaign a place of its own in military history if there were not more cogent reasons for doing so. At Stirling reinforcements swelled the rebels' ranks ; at Falkirk they defeated 8,000 government troops under General Hawley. But now desertions to the Highlands assumed alarming dimensions, as after every victory of the clansmen. Lord George Murray counselled retreat to the Highlands, where a powerful army could be raised in the spring. But there was to be no new campaign in the spring.

6 On the 15th of April, 1746 the Duke of Cumberland with an army of nine thousand men, including a large force of foreign troops, met Charles at Culloden near Inverness, and this time numbers, position, weather, and equipment fought together against the rebels. The leaders were squabbling among themselves ; the rank and file were famishing and exhausted by a long night march ; the Macdonalds were piqued by being refused their traditional post on the right wing ; Cumberland's artillery worked its will upon the Highlanders, who had been drawn up in an insanely

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exposed position ; a storm of wind and sleet drove into their faces . Charles was led from the field by his officers, followed by Elcho's bitter and unjust taunt, " There you go for a damned cowardly Italian." The adventures which brought him at last through perils innumerable safely to France belong to a well-explored territory of romance rather than to this history, save in so far as the steadfast refusal to betray a hunted fugitive on whose head was a great price throws light upon the manners and men of the Highlands.

XX

POLITICS FALL ASLEEP

THE Jacobite rebellion of 1745 must be regarded not only as a mere episode in Scottish history but also as an anachronism and an anomaly, strangely unrelated to the life of an age over which it passed like a dream vividly but momentarily recollected in waking hours. It was as if Scotland had walked in her sleep and done deeds wildly at variance with the actions of her consciousness.

On the other hand, the social consequences of the Rebellion are of the first importance. These did not spring from the brutalities in which Cumberland revenged the bad fright the government had received, and which were resented by Scotsmen of every class in spite of the unbridgeable gulf that is supposed to have yawned between Lowlander and Highlander. There was, of course, a sense of division between the two which speech defined. Yet, though the Highlander was a barbarian in the eyes of the Lothian farmer and the Glasgow burgess he was nevertheless a fellow-countryman. And when the Highlanders forded the Esk at the end of their astounding march they rejoiced to be on their native soil once more. The feeling of kinship within one nation remained as an emotion remoter than the cultural discrimination which politics had sharpened, but not less real. And there had never been a naked duel between Highlands and Lowlands. Even in the Forty-five, the ablest and most statesmanlike opponent of the revolt was the Highlander, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President

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of the College of Justice, whom Cumberland remembered as "that old woman who talked to me of humanity."

The disgusting atrocities which Forbes would have prevented had he been able may have had some part in breaking the spirit of the Highlanders but they were eclipsed by other events which struck at the roots of the Celtic polity. The clan system was broken up by an act which forbade, during almost forty years, the wearing of tartan (the bagpipe had already been suppressed as "an instrument of war" by a Disarming Act) and by a further act which abolished heritable jurisdictions. At one blow the hereditary privilege of Scottish landowners to administer justice on their lands was swept away; the hereditary sheriffs were replaced by crown officials; military tenure was abolished. More than a hundred Regality Courts were suppressed by the Act, an "equivalent" of £152,000 being paid to the barons who had dispensed in them a careless, rule of thumb justice which was sometimes brutal, and often corrupt. The baron's gallows and the baron's dungeon did not exhaust the sinister potentialities of irresponsible hereditary jurisdiction; in some parts of the country a profitable trade was plied by selling prisoners to the Plantations. Yet the tenants who declared that they "aye liked gentlemen's law" seemed to hint that humanity, which is so queerly yoked with coarseness and brutality in the Scottish character, was not unknown in the court-baron.

But the power of the Highland chief was not a feudal power; it belonged to a type of society older than feudalism. He was not the lord of vassals but the chief and father of a clan. He was the trustee rather than the proprietor of the lands of the clan. So

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it seemed that, if this act was levelled at the power of the chief, it had been unskilfully aimed. Yet by substituting royal courts for the chief's justice the act broke the vital link between chief and clansman, while, by declining to recognise any relationship of a dignitary to his district but that of landlord to estate, the law subtly transformed the chief into a laird.

With this profound metamorphosis the old Highland society was destroyed once and for all. The chief was no longer a responsible official with duties to the people whose judge and captain he was by ancient and indisputable right. He was now a landlord with duties towards his land and his rents. "I have lived in woeful times," said a chief forty years after the Rebellion; "when I was young the only question asked concerning a man of rank was, How many men lived on his estate? Then it was, How many black cattle it would keep? but now it is, How many sheep will it carry?" For the chiefs, once they had forgotten they were chiefs, found in the new order compensations for the vanished glory of their patriarchal privileges. The clansmen were not so fortunate.

It is a common impression that with the Union of the Parliaments, Scotland began to participate in the political life of the United Kingdom. The truth is, however, that more than a century was to pass before this took place. The more immediate effect of the Union was to destroy or at least to enslave such political activity as existed. There is no more discreditable and undignified chapter in Scottish history than that which narrates the politics of the eighteenth century. The corrupt old electoral system remained undisturbed, ready to the hand of him who could manipulate it. And now, as inevitably happens (the

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mechanism of corruption being granted) when a smaller and poorer country is tacked on to one larger and vastly richer, both the incentive to reduce the former to the rôle of a dependable political pawn and the means to encompass that end co-existed. For now to those inducements by which Scottish governments had been able to influence elections and voting were added the immense resources of persuasion and purchase derived from offices in England and the colonies.

The American colonies might have Scottish governors and India become a paradise for needy and energetic Scots officials, but the price of these benefits was the obliteration of Scotland as a political entity. Throughout the century the country had always a master, a satrap whose control of patronage made him dictator. In the years that followed the Union it was the Whig Duke of Argyll who secured that the forty-five Scottish seats were Whig; later it was the Earl of Bute, and finally the system reached its apotheosis in the despotism of the Tory, Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, under whom forty-three of the forty-five members were Tories.

The conditions which created those "bosses" and their power belong to the feudal past of the country and especially to the feudal character of the old Scots Parliament as an assembly of freeholders. In 1790, 4,662 men elected the representatives of thirty-three counties, the voters in Cromarty numbering six. The burgh voters in the same year totalled 1,289. In order to secure the return of a government nominee in every constituency it was therefore necessary to make sure of the votes of less than three thousand individuals out of a population of more than one and a half millions. But the story does not end here.

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In the counties, fictitious votes were created by landowners who, by a legal device, handed over the "superiority" of parcels of their estates to tenants, "parchment barons" on whom they could rely. The burghs were close corporations in which the new Town Council was elected by the old and the burgh members elected by the councils, through a handful of delegates. By such means the area over which bribery had to play was considerably narrowed down. Scotland was, in the words of various observers, one vast rotten burgh, "good for nothing," in Fox's phrase, "except perhaps to be placed by the side of the English, in order to set off one defective system by the comparison of one still more defective."

It was the practice for English ministries at this time to delegate to one influential Scotsman the entire management of Scottish affairs. This practice, due to English ignorance of Scotland and to the fact that the government's interest in the country did not extend beyond keeping it quiet and obtaining a solid phalanx of Scottish supporters in Parliament, did not cease when, in 1725, Walpole abolished the Secretaryship for Scotland, the office which under the dual monarchy had corresponded to the premiership of Scotland. Temporarily restored in 1731 and done away with once more after the Forty-five, the Secretaryship was finally set up in 1885, an important recognition that Scotland could not be governed as a portion of Great Britain, indistinguishable from England.

But even when there was no Secretary of Scotland and when his functions were nominally performed by the Home Secretary, the actual management of the country was always in the hands of a Scotsman who exercised a more absolute sway than any king had ever done. With a consummate electioneer and politician

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like Dundas in control, the system reached its summit of perfection. There was no detail, however small, which might affect a vote in an election but Dundas knew it and used it. It paid to have a vote and use it for Dundas, whether you were an officer in the army whom a general's commission in the East India Company's service would tempt, or a town councillor with a son you wanted to make a Customs House officer. Young advocates who resisted the blandishments with which Dundas sought to attract rising men of talent found that they lost their cases before juries selected by the Tory judge from a list prepared by the Tory sheriff.

Scottish political feeling was aroused only by glaring attacks on the national interest or dignity and even then was a fleeting and futile emotion. Thus Walpole in the face of a determined opposition, was compelled to substitute a tax on malt for his proposed tax on ale, then the national beverage (whisky-drinking being confined at the beginning of the century to desperate fellows and wild Highlandmen) to such an extent that Edinburgh consumed 2,500 barrels a week of "two-penny."

The famous Porteous Mob of 1736 took its origin in the nation-wide practice of smuggling. In Dundonald parish church was a gallery called the "smugglers' loft", where these highly respected merchants sat with their wives. The eminently reputable Edinburgh banking house of Coutts and Co. had a partner at Rotterdam who provided cargoes for smugglers trading with the North-East coast of Scotland.

Thus when two Fife "free traders" named Wilson and Robertson attempted to escape from church in Edinburgh on the Sunday before their execution, there

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was no doubt where the sympathy of the crowd would be. Robertson was successful, partly because Wilson held back three of the guards. At Wilson's execution stones were thrown at the City Guard whose commander, Captain Porteous, ordered them to fire. Several people were killed, and an Edinburgh court promptly sentenced Porteous to death. A respite of six weeks was obtained from Queen Caroline by government, but it never took effect. On the eve of the day that Porteous was to have been hanged he *was* hanged, by a mob which sprang mysteriously out of nowhere and, in a businesslike manner which proved how carefully the thing had been planned, marched to the Tolbooth, seized their victim and hanged him, unskilfully, on a dyers' pole. Then they disappeared into the shadows of a conspiracy of silence from which they never emerged. The outrage drew from the government a Bill of Pains and Penalties, ordering the town charter of Edinburgh to be destroyed, the City Guard to be disbanded, the Provost to be imprisoned, and the Netherbow Port to be razed. The entire Scottish representation united against this proposed measure; even the Crown officials opposed it. As a result, it was dropped and a fine of £2,000 substituted.

The political history of the second half of the century is confined to sporadic interruptions of the long monotony of acquiescence in the doings of the government. There was no national contribution to politics, no trace of a political will, or a national conscience. In 1757, when a militia was set up in England to meet the threat of invasion, there was a demand for a Scottish militia. This was rejected by Parliament to the vast indignation of Scotsmen. In Nicholson's Tavern in Edinburgh the Poker Club attracted David Hume and other literary personages

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on Tuesdays to discuss means of stirring up the national spirit against English oppression. In 1778 a bill extending to Scotland the terms of an English measure for relieving Catholics of the disabilities imposed on them after the Revolution met with such a storm of opposition that even the omnipotent Dundas bowed to it.

Such were the political interventions of the Scottish people during the eighteenth century up to the time when Dundas and Pitt formed the alliance which remains the most memorable instance of a partnership between an English statesman and a Scots politician. It is not an imposing list. It seems to prove that the Puritan temper of religion in Scotland had not yet fashioned that high sense of political responsibility which could, in the England of the rotten burghs, still produce a Chatham, a Burke, and a Fox. The Scottish Church was a rival to secular politics rather than a force *in* politics, except, of course, when its instinct of self-preservation was aroused, as by the Catholic Relief Bill. But the most remarkable feature of the continuing political indifference and impotence was that it coincided during the second half of the century with an unparalleled renaissance of the Scottish intellect. The explanation of this apparent anomaly must be sought in the fact that qualities of mind which the national brand of Protestantism had fostered turned not to politics but to what was, after all, a more urgent field of endeavour, the development of the country's resources. Scotland needed a rest from extremisms ; she was beginning to cultivate her garden.

XXI

SCOTLAND OPENS SHOP

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Scotland was about one million ; at the end about 1,600,000. Yet in the same period the national revenue was multiplied by fifty. In 1700 Scots shipping consisted of 93 vessels with a tonnage of 6,000 ; in 1792 there were 718 vessels totalling 84,000 tons.

The extraordinary increase of wealth which these figures indicate was not, however, the outcome of a steady process of development. Impoverished Scotland adjusted herself to the new association with her great neighbour haltingly and painfully. Her woollen manufactures were ruined by competition with the better and cheaper English product ; “ Kilmarlocks ” and “ Aberdeen fings ” and “ Glasgow plaidings ” vanished before the invading broadcloth ; a salt tax struck a heavy blow at her fish trade, already suffering from Dutch competition, and as late as 1750, when 150 Dutch busses were fishing off the coast, there were only two Scottish boats at work from east coast harbours and many of the once proud Fife royal burghs were ruined.

Money was incredibly scarce. The whole currency at the Union has been estimated at about £600,000, a sum which the private fortune of more than one commercial magnate a century later could equal. There was no shipbuilding, and foreign trade—where it did not consist in downright smuggling from the

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Plantations—was a paltry matter of sending woollen stockings to Barbary and Glasgow plaids, “strong waters,” beads and blue bonnets to the Guinea coast, where, it was hoped, they “may do for their kings and queens”.

Glasgow was a little city of 12,500 people whose principal industry was the making of plaiding; in Paisley eighty-seven weavers worked at hand looms; Ayrshire made blue bonnets and coarse woollens; Dundee, a mean little town of wooden houses, cringing under its great church, sent coarse plaiding to the Baltic; Inverness was a collection of turf-thatched cottages with a meagre trade in plaids, butter, and smuggled brandy. The great race of Scottish artisans had yet to be; the craftsmen, whether domestic or in the factories, were unskilled and their products of poor quality. Only in the linen manufactures at Dunfermline and the woollen goods made at Aberdeen were good workmanship and prosperity to be found.

Linen survived to become to Scotland what wool was to England. Its manufacture spread to Glasgow and to Paisley, where Christian Shaw a daughter of the laird of Balgarran began to manufacture thread and obtained from Holland the secret of making, sorting, and packing fine thread. Packed in paper bearing the Balgarran arms, this thread attained a wide reputation and, the secret leaking out, was the foundation of the great Paisley thread industry. Another shrewd woman, Mrs. Fletcher of Saltoun, sister-in-law of the statesman, obtained entrance to a Dutch linen factory and brought home the secret to Scotland where she made the first Holland linen. In 1735 a Glasgow man named Harvey smuggled home two looms and a Haarlem workman and began to make tape in his native town. The funds distributed in Scotland under the Treaty

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of Union, the so-called Equivalent, brought much-needed capital to the new industries. Spinning was taught in schools and French weavers brought to Edinburgh; the British Linen Company was founded with a capital of £100,000 to encourage linen-making. Forfarshire supplied the British Navy with its sail-cloth; Dunfermline's damask won a European reputation. The new prosperity was not confined to textiles; pewter went out and glass and china came in; wood and thatch did not satisfy the new age; slate quarries were opened in Caithness, and Aberdeen began to build in granite. The great Carron iron works were founded in 1760 and gave to naval warfare the carronade.

Trade grew side by side with industry. The Union was the key to the commerce of America, which altered the economic balance of the country from east to west and wrought a miracle on Glasgow. It was not until 1718 that the first Glasgow-owned vessel crossed the Atlantic, but ten years before that the trade with the Plantations had begun. It grew with astonishing pace, although, until 1775, when the Clyde was deepened, ships could not get nearer than fourteen miles to Glasgow, and cargoes completed the passage by pack-horse. At the turn of the century Glasgow had ousted Bristol as the chief European terminus of the Virginian tobacco trade. More than half of the tobacco imported into Britain came into Glasgow, where the Farmers-General bought all the tobacco that entered France. It was the age of those picturesque and consequential merchant princes, the scarlet-cloaked Tobacco Lords, men of vast wealth like John Glassford whom Smollett called "one of the greatest merchants in Europe" and whose twenty-five ships brought over half of the tobacco that was re-exported to the Continent. Disaster came upon this great

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commerce with the American war of 1776; the insurgent colonies owed Glasgow a million sterling; fortunes were lost and firms ruined but Glasgow rode the storm. Though the glory of the Virginian trade was departed, and would return no more, sugar and rum from the West Indies took its place. Textile industries sprang up; cotton mills were built and factories for printing calico, weaving muslin and spinning the cotton which Glasgow ships brought in from Carolina. At the end of the century, Glasgow was a busy, expanding city of 80,000 people, prosperous, confident, with much of its old charm vanished, and with already some of the evil features of its latest phase apparent.

For, before the century was out, the Industrial Revolution was in. James Watt came up to Glasgow from Greenock in 1754 and, though the Corporation of Hammermen would not admit him, the professors of the University gave him a workshop where he repaired fiddles and spectacles and discussed science with Adam Smith, and, looking out of his window, could see the printing-shop of Andrew and Robert Foulis, whose beautiful editions of the classics were the first definite triumph of Scottish printing. Watt's steam engine brought power to the factory, Arkwright's machinery provided a new and better textile technique. In 1778 great cotton mills were set up at Lanark and supplied with the labour of poor children brought from Edinburgh; in 1786, when Arkwright's patent expired, cotton began to take the place of Paisley's linen manufactures. Iron smelting leapt from insignificance to an output from seventeen furnaces of 18,600 tons in the eight years between 1788 and 1796. Old roads were improved and new roads built to serve the needs of the industries; in 1790 the Forth and

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Clyde Canal linked the industrial west with the east and the Continent.

In 1788 Miller and Symington set the first steamboat in motion on Dalswinton loch ; in 1801, the *Charlotte Dundas*, the work of Symington, was launched on the Forth and Clyde Canal, the first commercial steamship.

In less than a century Scotland had passed through a bewildering series of metamorphoses. She had begun with a tiny commerce and no important industries whatever ; she had built up one flourishing overseas trade, lost it, and replaced it by another ; she had seen a prosperous domestic industry grow up in her towns and villages and now witnessed that industry pass away before the new manufactures of the tall, forbidding mills, the steam engines, the power-driven looms, and the crowded, squalid towns. Soon she was to learn that in this new prosperity dwelt new evils and new perils, but at the moment there was no time to notice that.

So swiftly had events moved that the Industrial Revolution was well on its way before the last relic of the mediæval economy was abolished. The salters and coal miners of Scotland had been serfs from the year 1606, when an act empowered masters of coalpits and saltpits to seize vagabonds and put them to work. The anomaly in a country where villeinage died earlier than anywhere else was perpetuated through the practise of workers setting their children to work in the pits at an early age so that they did not have the opportunity, afforded them in theory, of gaining their freedom. In 1775 an Act prevented the creation of any more industrial slaves of this kind, and in 1799 all the " bound colliers " were released from servitude.

Closely linked with the development of commerce in a country where there was a remarkable scarcity of

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bullion was the growth of a Scottish banking system. The Bank of Scotland was joined in the field in 1727 by the Royal Bank which had Jacobite sympathies. The old merchant-bankers of Edinburgh, such as John Coutts and Company and Sir William Forbes, still carried on a business in which retail shopkeeping was pleasantly associated with money-lending and bill-discounting. But the paper issues of the two joint-stock banks did much more to stimulate the new industries than those gentlemen who met their clients at the Mercat Cross and discussed loans over a pint of claret. Imitators sprang up all over the country and notes for ridiculously low amounts were issued, sometimes with a lack of precaution which led to disaster. In 1772 the Ayr Banking Company went bankrupt and brought down with it all but two of the private bankers. When it is considered that the whole of Scotland's new prosperity had been built upon paper, and that the metal of the country at the middle of the century was estimated (by Adam Smith) at one-third of what it had been at the Union, it may well be thought that the country was lucky to escape so lightly. By the Banking Act of 1765 some of the more obvious dangers of a paper currency were removed.

For agriculture the century was almost as revolutionary as for trade. The Lowlands, which were potentially much more fertile than the Highlands, suffered to an incredible extent from bad farming. For centuries the same system had prevailed without change; the fields near the farm-steading, the *infield*, were manured and sown in alternate years with grey oats and the coarse barley called bere; the *outfield* was put under cattle for three or four years and then ploughed (with a huge, clumsy plough "more fit to raise laughter than to raise soil") for a poor grain crop.

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There were no enclosures, except in Lothian, and the lack of drainage made the low-lying ground which should have been the best less valuable than the hillslopes. Over great stretches the ancient "run-rig" system was still found.* Everywhere was waste, laziness and stupidity entrenched behind religious scruple. The transformation of this ineffective rural economy into a scientific and enlightened agriculture surpassed nowhere in Europe is perhaps the most honourable episode in the record of Scottish landowning. For although legislation, such as the Entail Act of 1770 enabling heirs of entail to grant long leases, and the Turnpike Act of 1751 which gave good roads to a countryside in many parts of which it had hitherto been impossible to use any better vehicle than a pack-horse, powerfully assisted development, although associations like the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture (1723-1745) and the later Highland Agricultural Society (1784) played an important part, the example set by individual proprietors was the principal factor in the transformation.

Lady Mordaunt introduced fallowing and the making of hay; the Earl of Stair first raised cabbages and turnips; the Earl of Haddington sowed clover and grass seed; in 1739 potatoes, which Cockburn of Ormiston had reared in his garden thirteen years earlier, were cultivated in fields for the first time; by the mid-century they were a common article of diet. When turnips were grown in the open field at Melrose in 1747, iron traps were set to discourage the curious and the country people refused to eat the bullocks that grew to monstrous dimensions on the strange roots. Winnowing fans were introduced by James

* It still existed in the Hebrides in 1850.

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Meikle in 1710; but it was many years before the farmers overcame their aversion to a device for "raising the Devil's wind." The eccentric and witty Lord Kames occupied the spare time which the Court of Session and the composition of his *Elements of Criticism* allowed him in clearing the morasses on his property, removing peat, planting trees, and enclosing fields.

The defeat of the Rebellion acted as a powerful stimulus to rural development, for it turned thousands of lounging swordsmen into peaceable workmen; the compensation paid for the abolished heritable jurisdictions was invested in land improvement. By 1790, it was possible for an expert to write, "An observing man who was bred in Scotland is astonished when he sees in England the langour and indolence which almost everywhere prevail in regard to agriculture." So completely were the tables turned.

The revolution was not accomplished without distress and disturbance. The new methods demanded closed fields, but when the landlords built walls and planted hedges, the immemorial grazing rights of poor farmers were infringed. In many cases tenants were evicted. In Galloway in the early summer of 1724 bands of men assembled at dead of night and, at their leader's cry, "Ower wi' it", overturned the new dykes with crowbars. The Scots Fusiliers were sent to deal with the situation and a fierce battle was fought, sixteen of the "Levellers" being taken.

The enclosing of the common lands of Scotland is one of those chapters in our story which the conventional historians have preferred to leave unwritten. There is comparatively little common land in Scotland to-day but in the Middle Ages there was probably a greater proportion of common there than in England, owing to the failure of feudalism to destroy the old

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land-holding system. In this latter half of the sixteenth century, before enclosure had reached its hey-day, one-half of Scotland was common.

This common land was lost in three ways :

(1) The encroachment of the gentry upon commons in the lowlands outside the burghs. This was aided by two supremely important land acts of 1647 and 1695 ; the first permitted the Court of Session to authorise enclosure when the consent of the superior had been obtained, and the second delegated the task of division to any three justices of the peace.

(2) The gradual destruction of the run-rig system. Another act of that fateful year in Scottish economic history, 1695, the " Act anent lands lying Run-rig," provided that a heritor could apply to have such lands split up when they lay in his estates.

(3) The loss of common lands belonging to the burghs through municipal corruption and incompetence. From 1469 until 1833, when the Burghs Reform Act was passed, the Scottish town councils were self-elected corporations. It was these bodies that alienated vast areas of common and whittled down the wide burghal lands to insignificance. Some burghs were entirely destroyed (e.g. Cromarty) ; every burgh lost almost all its common through different forms of sharp practice.

The Highlands remained a special problem. At the beginning of the century the Highlander depended for his livelihood on the vast herds of stunted black cattle that he drove down to the tryst at Falkirk and sold to English graziers. The native breed of sheep was grown for its wool, which the women spun and wove and dyed with lichens and plant juices. After the Forty-five, that " capital era in the husbandry and economics of Scotland ", the change began. Lowland

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sheepfarmers brought in their hardy Cheviot and Blackface flocks which thrived on the barren hillsides and brought about the extinction of the ancient breed. In time the Highlanders themselves adopted the Southern methods, but this did not mitigate the tragic accompaniment of the new system. The little farms were obliterated and in their place was the great expanse of the sheep-run rented by the Southern grazier. And with the crofts went the men. Thousands of them found employment in the new industries of the towns; fifty thousand between the Forty-five and Waterloo entered the Highland regiments; between 1670 and 1783, thirty thousand emigrated to America, precursors of the greater emigrations that were to follow.

The Highland landlords who drove away from their glens the dazed clansmen who had in a year or two become their tenants, have been greatly blamed for the haste with which they tore the old Highland society up by the roots. It is true that they could get far more from the grazier than from the crofter, and that their rentals increased greatly; the Fortingale estate, worth £1,500 a year in 1750, was worth £4,600 forty years later. Yet it would probably have been better sense as well as better humanity if a change inevitable and, no doubt, beneficial, had not been so obviously quickened by greed. "To effect this reform", said Scott, "Lord Reay must turn out several hundred families who have lived under him and his fathers and the swords of whose fathers probably won the lands from which he is now expelling them." "To govern peaceably by having no subjects", wrote Dr. Johnson, "is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politics." It is impossible to forget that though the Highland landlords were richer the nation was poorer

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by a magnificent stock whom statesmanship would have endeavoured to send away more slowly—and not so far!

The psychological effect of the dispersal on those who were left was almost as important as the emigration itself. A man does not gain in energy or self-esteem when the life of which he is part is under a sentence of death. Comparing the scenes he witnessed when an emigrant ship left Portree with the frenzied lamentations of the previous year, Boswell wrote, "This year there was not a tear shed. The people on shore seemed to think that they would soon follow. The indifference is a mortal sign for the country".

There was, however, another side to the picture. The forests of Scotland form one of the oddest chapters in her history. When Sir Anthony Weldon was declaring (in 1617) that "Judas had scarce got a tree to hang himself" in Scotland, there were still vast forests in the Highlands. When timber was being imported from Scandinavia in the early eighteenth centuries great fir forests in the west were being cut down and shipped to Ireland. After the rising in 1715 some of the finest forests in the country were sold, along with the rest of the forfeited estates, to the York Buildings Company. Tree-planting in the naked Lowlands had begun first as a decorative effort and later as an aid to better farming. About the middle of the century it became a passion among the Highland proprietors. Grant of Monymusk, early in the field, planted fifty million spruce before he died; Lord Findlater in Nairn and Lord Moray at Darhaway planted over ten million trees apiece. The Duke of Atholl, "the planting Duke", covered 16,000 acres with twenty-seven million larches. The passion, although it was confined to a comparatively few areas, restored something of the lost natural riches of the Highlands.

XXII

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WITH the new wealth a new urbanity. People began to dress more richly ; towns were handsomer and cleaner (although the deplorably simple means by which housewives rid themselves of their domestic abominations remained to horrify the sensitive Wesley) ; manners were still plain but a new good temper and a resolute determination to make the most of this life rubbed some of the rough edges off the national character while leaving the firm core untouched. Booksellers and printing presses sprang into being by the dozen to cater for a generation of judges, divines, doctors, professors, and country gentlemen who discussed shrewdly, and in a broad Scots that was just becoming self-conscious, the latest from France, over tripe or mince collops and claret at the innumerable clubs, which met in the taverns and oyster cellars. It was a gregarious age in which the possession of a quick brain and a witty tongue opened the door to the best society. Between the sexes there was no barrier set up by old prejudice or the affectation of gallantry. Free of speech, frank of manners, Scotswomen maintained their right to equal treatment in a time which had many faults but remarkably little viciousness.

Scotland was still vastly poorer than England but living in it was much cheaper. Much could be done on a small income when the rent of a gentleman's house was £10 a year and the orgies of fashionable clubs were conducted on a few pence a night.

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England was still alien, and, on the whole, disliked, and Scotland continued for long to take more from Holland than from the nearer neighbour with which she was politically bound. The London mail bag often left Edinburgh in the first half of the century with only one letter in it. The picturesque and attractive life which sprang up in the growing towns with their narrow wynds and tall constricted houses was not a repetition of things learnt in London. The cooking in the busy taverns belonged to the old Scots cuisine which had gone to school in France and the Low Countries. The drink, which was copious, was for the poor man ale (until the Malt Tax conferred a new and evil popularity upon whisky), and for the better-off claret, though, here again, the corrupting influence of the Union and the anti-French fiscal policy of England, brought in the inferior port as a rival. But, on the other hand, the passion for tea-drinking was imported from Holland and owed nothing to English example. In the same way, fashions for both sexes were introduced directly from Paris until the end of the century, when even the sturdy race of Scots gentlewomen began to surrender to the behests of London.

By that time a more important step towards the submergence of Scotland in English culture had been taken; the upper classes and especially the literary men had begun that earnest and slightly ridiculous crusade against the Scottish idiom in speech and writing which ended in the death of the Scots variant of the English language as the speech of the upper classes. The Doric lived on only in a group of unlettered dialects which were destined, however, to be the instrument of a man of genius. It was reported of one famous Scotsman of the period that on his

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deathbed he confessed not his sins, but his Scotticisms. The great Hume, whose conversation was a rich and racy Scots, sent his manuscript to a Bristol linen-draper for correction.

Three hundred of the Edinburgh gentry gathered solemnly to listen to Mr. Thomas Sheridan discoursing in a heavy Irish brogue on the niceties of pure English pronunciation and gravely repeated his "tum-ti-ti-tum" and "tum-ti-tum-ti" formulæ. Yet this naïve acknowledgment of provincialism did not prevent Scotsmen from remaining very thoroughly Scottish in pride and temper, nor Edinburgh from being a capital. It is, after all, the prerogative of capitals to take up foreign novelties, and English pronunciation was as much a fashionable fad as Dutch tea and French philosophy.

It was during this first century after it had lost its claim to be a political capital that Edinburgh entered on its most brilliant period, when, in spite of smaller size and wealth, and the absence of court and parliament, it cut as great a figure in Europe as London. The principal cause of the phenomenon was a remarkable intellectual awakening which broke down the narrow walls of theological repression. Besides, as a result of the new prosperity which came to the land-owning class as well as to the merchants and manufacturers, Edinburgh now became a capital city to an extent which she had not known before. It was noticed that after 1760 higher rents enabled many of the gentry to set up town houses for the first time. London was still twelve to sixteen days' journey away. As the century progressed, fewer talented young Scotsmen found it necessary to take the road to the South; an increasing society in their own country, comfortably off, and possessed of enlightenment, taste

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and intellectual curiosity, bought their books, sat to them for portraits, or engaged them as physicians. Ramsay went to London, but Raeburn stayed at home to paint the autumn of that age. Smollett lived in Grub Street, but Scott left Castle Street only for Abbotsford. In so far as the glory of Edinburgh did not depart with the natural exhaustion of a remarkably sustained intellectual effort it was killed by the coming of the railway.

The great names of the eighteenth century are not the names of churchmen, just as its great events are not ecclesiastical. Yet the church had now everything in its favour. There was no king to challenge its theocrats, no parliament to dispute for pride of place with its Assembly. National pride might reasonably be expected to rally round the last (or almost the last) national institution; such pageantry of state as was left enhanced the prestige of the Establishment. Yet the politics of the church have only a subsidiary interest at this time; they touched sections rather than the nation and flowed in remote backwaters, whose troubled streams made but an occasional eddy in the main channel of intellectual life. A party came to power which was imbued less with the ardour and the strictness of the old Calvinism than with the new secular philosophy imported from France. Morality and, worse, charity were unblushingly approved in polite pulpits. In this way the church came to terms with the intellectual renaissance. Its leading divines, as broad-minded men of the world as any abbé, were to be found frequenting the same clubs as philosophers whom most people regarded as little better than atheists, and these same philosophers—even Hume—sat respectably in their pews on Sabbath mornings listening, with no doubt an inward smile, to sermons which

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they might easily have preached themselves. The original inspiration of the church lived on in movements which, as they grew remoter from the main direction of the national mind, became increasingly enthusiastic and unbalanced.

Yet the day was not won for Moderatism without a fight. In 1729 John Simson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, suspected of the deadly offence of Arianism, was deprived of office, though not of its emoluments, after a protracted trial in which the subtlest points in metaphysics were bandied about freely in the Assembly. But a long-forgotten English theological work, *The Marrow of Divinity*, in which was expounded the naked Calvinist dogma, was condemned by the Assembly, principally because it taught that holiness was not necessary to salvation, a doctrine abhorrent to an age inclined to discover in Christianity nothing more than the perfection of ethics. Already the Presbytery of Auchterarder had been rebuked for declining to license a divinity student unless he stated: "I believe that it is not orthodox to say that we must forsake our sins in order to come to Christ." These actions showed that in the Assembly, which was still a sufficiently aristocratic body to include nine peers and nine lords of Session (for the divorce between the upper classes and the religion of the people was not yet complete), there was now a Moderate majority. The revolt of the sterner Presbyterians followed the Assembly's acquiescence in the detested institution of lay patronage, which the British Parliament had restored in 1712 in the teeth of the Act of Union. An Act of Assembly of 1732 conferred patronage specifically on the local elders and heritors (landowners) in the event of the patron presenting no candidates within six months after a vacancy occurred.

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The result was that Ebenezer Erskine, a popular minister of the time, and three others of his way of thinking issued a "Judicial Testimony" denouncing most contemporary tendencies from the Act of Union to the repeal of the laws against witchcraft. In 1773, after a day of prayer and fasting, they formed the Associate Presbytery which grew into the strong sect known as the First Seceders. Up till this time Scotland had been remarkably free from the fissiparous habit that characterized Protestantism in England. The attempt, directed from London, to enforce Prelacy had created small independent factions on either wing, the Episcopalians on the one hand, and the Cameronian Societies (now called the Reformed Presbyterians) on the other, but on the whole the central block of Presbyterianism was identified with the religious outlook of the nation. Now another intervention from London had brought into existence the Secession Church which proceeded to display a positive genius for disintegration.

In Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth each burgess was compelled on assuming office to take an oath to "profess and allow the true religion presently professed in this realm." On the abstruse question as to whether this oath involved an admission that the ecclesiastical establishment of the country with all its manifest abominations, was the true religion, or whether it only meant that one approved it, in so far as it *was* true, the Secession split into two camps, the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers. On a further grave matter, the precise moment in the communion service, before or after the prayer of consecration, that the elements were to be "lifted" from the communion table, the Anti-Burghers divided into Lifters and Anti-Lifters. But not here ends the pious struggle to preserve the

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tabernacle from reproach; the seamless robe was to be rent once more. The ghost of the Covenant rose to trouble Burgher and Anti-Burgher, and tiny sects disputed fiercely as to whether or not the civil magistrate could be required to compel religious obedience. This controversy parted the seceding groups into Old Lights (stubborn Covenanters) and New Lights.

In the Establishment bereft of such wisdom it might have been thought that a placid unanimity would now prevail. But the Assembly had not yet heard the last of lay patronage. Soldiers were still requisitioned to escort unwanted ministers to kirks whose doors were guarded by hostile parishioners; "intruded" divines still went in peril of a ducking. The moderates under their leaders, Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Dr. William Robertson, the historian, and Dr. Hugh Blair, fought to maintain the sovereignty of the Assembly over the lower courts. For refusing to ordain a presentee who was unpopular with the parishioners, Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock, was deposed. In 1761 Gillespie and two other ministers founded the Relief Church, "for the relief of Christians oppressed in their Christian privileges." By 1765 the numbers worshipping in dissenting meeting houses had reached the imposing total of 100,000 and if the Moderate party had hoped to maintain the hold of the church on the upper classes they had miscalculated. English influences and English education were to turn the landowners into Anglicans. In 1785 the leader of the Evangelical party, Sir Henry Moncrieff, was elected moderator and became the chief ecclesiastical statesman in Scotland. By then, the days of the amiable, tavern-haunting, theatre-going and even play-writing churchmen were over.

The Episcopal communion, sunk into insignificance

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and poverty, subject to sporadic persecutions, and harassed by the law, suffered from dissensions like the victorious Presbytery. Its worship was originally as simple as that in the Presbyterian kirks and when ritualistic innovators ventured to introduce surplices and other changes in the service their own flocks united with the outraged Presbyterians to mob them. But gradually the High Church party got the upper hand, attachment to the Scottish Office strengthened and the church in Scotland became distinguished from the Anglican communion by a more Catholic doctrine and ceremonial which lost it the sympathy of the dominant Broad Church party in England and sent it on strange, forgotten errands to the Metropolitans of the Orthodox Church. But any hopes that there may ever have been in these fantastic dreams of Muscovite alliance seem to have vanished with the death of Peter the Great.

The Universities brilliantly achieved in the eighteenth century the eminence of which generations of theological and social disturbance had deprived them. The abolition at Edinburgh and Glasgow of the old system of regenting whereby one tutor took a group of students through the entire three or four years' curriculum was the first of a series of reforms of which another was the gradual abandonment of the practice of lecturing in Latin. New faculties and professorships were attracting to the universities a succession of eminent scholars, the earliest of whom was the Irishman, Francis Hutcheson, professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow (at that time one-third an Irish university). Once more the example of Holland was the chief formative influence. Principal Carstares wished to form Scots colleges on Dutch models and even contemplated importing Dutch professors. After

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all, Holland was the spiritual home of every young Scotsman until well into the century; Dutch textbooks of law, medicine, and theology were prescribed by Scots professors who had picked up an acquaintance with Grotius and Voetius, Limborch and Van Eck in the halls of Utrecht or Groningen. Even as late as 1763 the young James Boswell set out for Utrecht and the classroom of Professor Trotz; but in the second half of the century, while the common Roman foundations of Scots and Dutch law still drew Scotsmen to the Dutch schools of jurisprudence, the reputation of the Scottish universities was such that even English students went to Edinburgh instead of to Leyden.

It was in science, medicine, and philosophy that the universities attained their fullest glory. Brilliant new professors, Thomas Reid, Adam Smith, Joseph Black, Maclaren, Simson and the dynasties of Gregory and Monro, brought eager youth to the shabby lecture-rooms, while the cheapness of the education (it was possible for £10 a year to take the curriculum and be fed and lodged) enabled all but the very poorest to share in the academic feast. The old mediæval learning went out; Aristotle was banished and Locke, Bacon, and Newton reigned in his place; the professor of moral philosophy abandoned to his brother of divinity the exposition of pneumatics, an obscure science dealing with the being and perfections of the true God, the nature of angels, etc. The lost splendours of Scots latinity were not recaptured but Greek and Hebrew were taught, geometry and natural science became important studies and when Alexander Monro was appointed Professor of Anatomy at Edinburgh (1724), the foundation of its Medical School was surely laid. No longer need Scottish students flock to Leyden to listen to the great Boerhaave; in

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1750 there were sixty medical students at Edinburgh, in 1800 there were six hundred and sixty. Only divinity, "dull and Dutch and prolix," still drownsed in Latin lectures and obsolete text books.

Poverty prevented the schools of Scotland from sharing in the spread of enlightenment. The Church did what it could in the Highlands, over great areas of which neither education nor religion had been disseminated since the Reformation, and such Christianity as existed consisted of imperfect reminiscences of Roman Catholicism. Doubly challenged, the Church had founded more than a hundred parish schools by 1732, but a quarter of a century later there were still 175 Highland parishes without a school and in 1821 half of the population was unable to read. Even in the burgh schools the master eked out his wretched salary with the gifts or "oblations" which his scholars brought him at Candlemas. By the Schoolmasters Act of 1802 the dominies' minimum salary was fixed at 300 marks (£16 13s. 4d.) with a house of two rooms.

The old Calvinism did not ebb away entirely into the 'futility of multiplying sects. Generations of controversy had engendered in the common people of Scotland an ability to follow an argument of the most fine-spun subtlety through the labyrinth of metaphysics to a logical conclusion. The habit of close thinking had been acquired; it remained to transfer it from the narrow garden of the theologies to science and philosophy. The group of philosophers who adorn the century of Secession are therefore in direct lineal descent from the grim theologians who in pulpit or cottage debated the doctrines of reprobation and justification.

With Francis Hutcheson philosophy still went hand in hand with divinity, but the new speculative freedom

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which he brought to ethics and religion paved the way for a completer divorce. It is to the credit of the Scottish Church that David Hume, in whom Scottish philosophy fathered one of the most original and profound intellects of all time, was the friend of many of its divines, and that a group of his keenest opponents among the clergy wrote to say that he would be more welcome at their table than St. Athanasius. When the arch-destroyer, whose trumpet note of scepticism roused Kant (himself almost a Scot) from his "dogmatic slumbers" in quiet Königsberg to memorable counter-attack, became a candidate for the librarianship of the Advocates' Library sufficient enlightened opinion supported him to carry the appointment through. When every allowance for Hume's immense personal charm has been made, the society in which toleration for a dangerous infidel could go to such lengths was clearly an ideal ground for the freest operations of the human spirit. By his ruthless extension of Bishop Berkeley's idealism to include a denial of our knowledge of the mind itself and by his denial of any certainly known relationship between cause and effect, Hume threw a bombshell into the philosophic camp the dust of whose explosion has not yet settled.

In his own country he met a manful retort from Thomas Reid, who sought a footing in the quicksands on what he (unfortunately) called "common sense," an intuition of truth universally admitted and contained in the very structure of human language. An ill-natured and superficial reply, *The Essay on Truth*, won for Dr. James Beattie an immense fame in England, which detested Hume, a pension from George III, and a portrait by Reynolds in which Truth was seen thrusting down Sophistry and Infidelity. One of the defeated demons had the face

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of Voltaire ; another may be Hume. But it was not until the voice spoke from Königsberg that Hume met a foeman worthy of his steel.

The Scottish mind triumphed in another field when Adam Smith, already author of a *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, published his *Wealth of Nations* and laid authoritatively the foundation of the modern science of economics. This, with Hume's great work, is the supreme contribution of the Scottish intellectual renaissance towards the enrichment of the human mind. Both belong to an age when the presses rained treatises and essays, when Voltaire might remark with amusement "that at the present time it is from Scotland we receive rules of taste in all the arts—from the epic poem to gardening," and when Sydney Smith could overhear a young lady at a ball say to her partner, "What you say, my lord, is very true of love in the abstract".

In the practice as distinct from the philosophy of the arts, Scotland was less eminent. The histories of Robertson are dead with the *Douglas* of John Home. Yet Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Smollett's novels, and Thomson's *The Seasons*, do something more than save their age from ignominy. The most significant characteristic of the time in literature was the renewed passion for the old Scots poetry. With Allan Ramsay, the poet wig-maker whose best work is the ballad-opera *The Gentle Shepherd*, as its genius, garbled versions of the old makars were re-issued in the celebrated *Evergreen* collection, and the way was opened for a more intelligent study.

While prose, deliberately and somewhat self-consciously, sought to perfect its English idiom, rhymed Scots grew in vitality as the century advanced. Ramsay in his own poems was again the chief innovator ;

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later came a galaxy of women lyrists, all of them ladies of quality using the ancient common speech with poignancy and distinction. There were Lady Grisell Baillie, Mrs. Cockburn (who wrote *The Flowers of the Forest* on an old model), Jean Elliot, Lady Anne Barnard, and Lady Nairne, the only one of a shy sisterhood who can be called prolific. John Skinner, an Episcopalian clergyman, gave the age in his *Tullochgorum* one of the finest and merriest of all Scots songs; Robert Fergusson, dying in a madhouse at twenty-six, had already dared a wider range for the Doric. His Scots is racy and crusted, his humour direct and pungent, his canvas bright and crowded, Hogarthian and alive. He has been too much forgotten in the shadow of the greater who followed him; after all, Fergusson owed nothing to Burns while Burns owes much to Fergusson. In any case, he is strong enough to stand on his own legs.

The wistful and barely comprehending search for an all but lost tradition of Scottish letters which began with Ramsay took a fantastic twist when James Macpherson set off for the Highlands in search of the ancient epic which he claimed could still be found on the lips of old men in remote glens. He had a hundred pounds in his wallet subscribed by Edinburgh gentlemen who, thirteen years after Culloden, already peered into the Celtic mists. A new field had opened to the imagination of the Lowlander. In due course, Macpherson brought back his epic and *Ossian* astonished Europe. It seems to be established that the "epic" consists of fragments of Celtic heroic poetry eked out and pieced together with the aid of Macpherson's fertile imagination. But Scotland accepted it in good faith, anachronisms, absurdities, bombast, and all, as a genuine epic of immense age;

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even when *Ossian* was discredited and opinion had swung to the opposite extreme the interest in the Highlands and in Gaelic history and culture remained. A new strand—or rather a strand long lost—was woven into the web of Scottish imagination, romance and poetry.

While literary gentlemen in Edinburgh were experiencing novel ecstasies as they roamed through the sounding halls of Selma and the windy prose of Macpherson, a contemporary Gaelic poetry had come to late fruition in the Highlands. The genuine Gaelic muse of Scotland is almost entirely, and certainly in so far as its important manifestations are concerned, a product of the mid-eighteenth century. There had been talented bards and harpers in the past, but now in the wake of the Forty-five came a group of remarkable poets whose work through lack of good translations has not yet influenced the spirit of English-speaking Scotland as it should have done. There was Alexander MacDonald, so strongly Jacobite that the first edition of his poems was burnt at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, a martial poet whose temper is Norse of the Isles rather than Celtic of the twilight: in “Clanranald’s Galley” he gave the world one of the most stirring of its sea-poems. There was Duncan Ban Macintyre, masterly poet of nature and the chase. With Rob Donn and Dugald Buchanan the tale of the Golden Age of Gaelic poetry is told.

Writing in a tongue which is unknown to the great majority of their fellow-countrymen, they are vigorously and unmistakably Scottish in spirit and idiosyncrasy; in affinity they are perhaps closer to Dunbar and the makars than to the later dialectal poets. That they should be ignored in histories of Scots literature is deplorable.

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The twin impulses of eighteenth century literature, the persistence and growing vigour of the dialect in verse, and the increasing sensitiveness to the glamour of the past, culminated in the two greatest figures of Scottish letters, Robert Burns and Walter Scott. With these two men literary ascendancy passed definitely from the cosmopolitan philosophers and the half-English poets and novelists. Both of them were profoundly influenced by the moods of their age, by the Ossianic enthusiasms and the restoration of national poetry, by antiquarian ardours and the experiments of Ramsay and Fergusson, as well as by the French Revolution and its consequences.

Burns is the poet of the common humanity of Scotland and not the propagandist of democracy (even if he did send four carronades as a present to the French National Assembly) that he is apt to be labelled by his modern worshippers. He did not summon to revolt, save by the assertion, implicit in his poetry and his life, that humanity—life vulgar, coarse and irrepressible—is a greater and a more important thing than dreary doctrines and arid piety. The liberating force of this profound intuition upon pulpit-cowed, creed-ridden peasants and artisans was tremendous. By writing “Tam o’ Shanter” and not by writing “A Man’s a man for a’ that”, Burns vindicated an essential sanity; he did not blow a trumpet for battle, he played a lively tune, to which all men danced. His mere existence is a miracle, and an inspiration. Theological tyranny had repressed and warped the normal human instincts without destroying them; now they sprang up, incarnate in a robust young farmer who spoke with the tongue of a peasant angel.

Scott, the rounder, sounder, man, belonged to the legal society of good blood and comfortable incomes

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which was the main element in Edinburgh's aristocracy, but in him that society had ceased to blush for being Scottish. His sense of nationality, springing from a basic instinct of identification as strong as Burns's, was fortified by a considerable if somewhat nondescript learning. The unequalled power to re-create the past and to draw unforgettable portraits which is displayed in the "Scotch novels" gave European literature a new orientation and Scottish letters its first great prose works. Although it shared these with the world, it could claim them first as its own. The effect upon Scottish nationality, now assailed by forces material and spiritual, was immense. Scotland might no longer be a nation or a kingdom but, henceforward, she could not forget that she had been both the one and the other. A sense of national duty might be lost in wider interests and excitements, but nationality as a sentiment would remain.

In Burns and Scott the renaissance of the eighteenth century reached its climax. Yet they belong properly not to the placid century of political sleep and intellectual awakening, but to the new age which was dawning when theory would be translated into action and old bitternesses would revive in new forms. The American Revolution was the first event that roused Scotsmen from political apathy: the French Revolution had deeper and more lasting results.

XXIII

AWAKENING, TUMULT, AND REFORM

IN August, 1793, a young advocate named Thomas Muir appeared before Lord Braxfield, the Lord Justice Clerk, on the grave charges of exciting disaffection and circulating seditious works. The jury was carefully picked from the members of an association which had already struck the accused man's name from its rolls; the judge, as he walked to his seat on the bench, whispered to one jurymen, "Come awa', and help us to hang ane o' thae daamned scoundrels"; an outrageous trial was followed by the savage sentence of fourteen years' transportation to Botany Bay.

On that day it was plain that the era when politics in Scotland were a matter of pensions and places and nothing else was over, with a vengeance. Something was fermenting under the century-old crust. A new enmity split the indolent, acquiescent political life into fierce factions. "L'Écosse a été redoutable tant qu'elle n'a pas été incorporée avec l'Angleterre; mais, comme dit M. Voltaire, un état pauvre, voisin d'un riche, devient vénal à la longue; et c'est aussi le malheur que l'Écosse éprouve." So Scotland had appeared to the discerning compilers of the *Encyclopédie*; the taunt would no longer be true. The American War, in which Scottish mercantile interests were bound up with the government's cause, awakened discussion; English newspapers were eagerly bought, and for the first time criticism of the administration was heard. The Society of Advocates declined

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to vote a grant from its funds towards the raising of a regiment. There was a persistent if never a strong movement for reform of the corrupt and scandalous electoral and municipal system which had put political power into the hands of a few thousand individuals and brought the national honour to its lowest ebb.

But it was the French Revolution that found Scotland out. It threw an urgent beam of light upon political iniquities, revealing them in their monstrous dimensions. It gave new, or at least novel, doctrines, phrased in crisp, ringing words like battle-cries, to the factory hands and the shopkeepers. Its events furnished examples to those who had dumbly or weakly resented. If it found out the evils from which the nation was suffering it also found the spirit and the will which would remove them. It plunged below the placid surface of Scottish life and brought up new hostilities, a new life, and the old, unaccommodating temper, which has always made the Scotsman, when roused, a harsh foe, liable to translate differences of opinion into personal feuds.

The soil had been prepared. The people were accustomed in their churches to the working of democracies; sermons had prepared them for the message of Tom Paine's "bawbee blasphemies" which now took the place of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Fourfold State* on the poor man's bookshelf. And now, in the strange new surroundings of the factories and the tenements, they were ripe for new hopes and new enthusiasms.

The first strike occurred in Scotland in 1787; six were killed when the soldiers were called out. The educated classes, steeped in Hume and Adam Smith, were ready to welcome the revolution. It spoke to them in the language of their own pamphlets, where

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“Zeno” and “Atticus” bandied quotations from Machiavelli and Montesquieu. Dugald Stewart returned from Paris an enthusiast; the Whig Earl of Lauderdale visited the French capital and harangued the mob “pour la liberté”. Even the Church was on the side of the Revolution. When Burke’s *Reflections* appeared and raised the first serious doubts Principal Robertson described it as “the ravings of Burke” and James Mackintosh in his *Vindiciae Gallicae* supplied an able reply.

The spread of revolutionary sympathies was stimulated by a Corn Bill imposing duties on imported grain. For the first time a Scottish association, the Incorporated Trades and Friendly Societies of Paisley, used the significant words: “The peace and welfare of the labouring poor.” Wilberforce’s campaign against the Slave Trade found Scottish opinion (government circles apart) solidly with the abolitionists; an Edinburgh petition was signed by over ten thousand people. By May, 1792, Pitt was becoming alarmed by the popularity of seditious pamphlets among “mechanics and cottars”. A proclamation forbidding the sale of Tom Paine’s *Rights of Man* caused an instant demand for the book and, while corporations and country gentlemen were voting loyal addresses, riots in the towns deepened the fears of the governing class; Dundas’s effigy was burnt in almost every village in the North, and in Edinburgh the arrival of troops did not prevent the Lord Provost’s windows being broken.

In July, 1792, the Society of the Friends of the People was formed in Edinburgh, on the model of a London association of Whig gentlemen. Soon it had branches all over Scotland, attracting not only the young Whig lawyers and gentry, but artisans and small

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shopkeepers. Perth was reported "a very dangerous place", Dundee celebrated the entry of Dumouriez into Brussels by planting a tree of liberty. The first convention of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland met in Edinburgh in December. The hundred and sixty delegates were drawn from eighty societies mostly situated in the manufacturing areas. The leaders were Lord Daer, son of the Earl of Selkirk, Lieut.-Colonel Dalrymple, and Thomas Muir, a young advocate who was the son of a Glasgow merchant. After some wild talk the Convention passed a number of moderate resolutions on Parliamentary reform.

But by this time the ruling class was in a state of panic. If the French Revolution had stimulated the movement for reform it now helped to thwart it. Fat bailies whose hands were deep in the municipal till, landed gentlemen who wished favours from Mr. Dundas, ministers who owed their livings to noble patrons saw Bastille-takings and massacres in the "hellish designs" of the reformers, and, by a useful confusion of ideas, transformed the defence of intolerable evils into a crusade against bloody revolution and the break-up of society. When the Convention closed dramatically with the taking of an oath "to live free or die", the shuddering upper classes saw the apparition of the guillotine already in their midst. For a man to support reasonable reforms became an act of treason to his class.

Yet the urgent need of reform and the existence of genuine grievances had already been admitted; when sheep riots broke out in Ross-shire Lord Adam Gordon, the Commander-in-Chief reported that they were actuated by "no disloyalty or spirit of rebellion" but by the well-founded fear that proprietors were about to let their estates to sheep farmers and turn their

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tenants adrift. Dundas had been gravely troubled by Highland emigration which he had sought to mitigate by restoring the forfeited proprietors but the problem had baffled him. But now reform was lost in repression ; glaring injustice and corruption that stank to heaven were defended in the name of imperilled society ; and the persecution of harmless and reasonable politicians went on in order that the gentlemen of Scotland might sleep undisturbed by the spectre of *la lanterne*.

The temper of the dominant party grew more and more violent as time passed ; their creed was tersely and defiantly stated by Braxfield at Muir's trial : "A government in every country should be just like a corporation ; and, in this country, it is made up of the landed interest, which alone has a right to be represented. As for the rabble, who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the nation on them ? What security for the payment of their taxes ? They may pack up all their property on their backs, and leave the country in the twinkling of an eye. But landed property cannot be removed."

Frightened into action, the government could think of nothing better to do than to arrest Muir and bestow on him a martyrdom that he certainly did not merit. The atrocity of the sentence on him, which shocked even the jury, appeared worse when it was considered that Muir, who had gone to Paris on bail, and was surprised there by the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and France, nevertheless returned to face his trial. The sentence was probably illegal, as the trial was certainly a grisly and brutal farce. In the United States, which sent the ship that rescued Muir from Botany Bay, the speech he delivered in his defence was for long after a favourite recitation for

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schoolboys. A Methodist clergyman named Palmer was sentenced to seven years' transportation for his part in an address against the war issued by the Dundee Friends of Liberty. At a British Convention of the Friends of the People, held in Edinburgh, a secret committee was appointed to arrange an emergency convention in the event of the Habeas Corpus Act being suspended or foreign troops introduced into the country. Its leaders, Gerrald, Margarot (both Englishmen) and Skirving received the same sentence that was meted out to Muir. The three became popular heroes. Margarot was escorted to his hotel by a crowd bearing a tree of liberty; Thomas Campbell, the poet, tramped from Glasgow to be present at Gerrald's trial. "By heaven, sir," he said, "that is a great man!" and long afterwards declared, "It was an era in my life."

The atmosphere of the times was electric. Spies were daily supplying the government with the information they were paid to obtain; all over the west was the muttering of what sounded like armed revolt; secrecy and suspicion were everywhere, and meanwhile the terrible events in Paris gave to the most trivial actions an awful significance. When the anti-revolutionist play, *The Royal Martyr*, was staged in Edinburgh, there was a riot in which a well-built young man named Walter Scott took part against the rabble of the gallery. An ex-spy named Watt formed a secret committee, which ordered pikes and halberts to be made and planned a surprise attack on the Castle and the banks. He was hanged at the Tolbooth as a traitor and thousands flocked to the ranks of the volunteers to save their country from civil upheaval. The wildest rumours were believed and the absurdest precautions were taken. Sunday Schools were frowned

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on by the clergy and evangelical preachers were regarded as little better than agitators. Meanwhile, French eyes were turned to Scotland and French agents were sending their government rosy reports on the prospects of revolutionary outbreak.

Édimbourg s'est levée ; a sa puissante voix
Albion va bientôt voir refleurir les lois.

Staid Edinburgh figured to her dismay as a potential Paris in the optimism of revolutionary poets. Muir was now in France, rescued from his Antipodean exile after incredible adventures, and urging upon the Directory a wild scheme for the invasion of Scotland which Bonaparte eventually rejected.

But the gravity of the war with France, the first war since the Union that was not a spectacle for Scotland, calmed the fervour of reformers until resentment against the Scottish Militia Bill raised it again in 1797. Rioters at the mining village of Tranent were brutally dispersed by cavalry, eleven being killed ; disorders all over the country led to more troops being drafted in. When Henry Erskine, the charming and witty son of the Earl of Buchan, presided over a meeting organised to oppose fresh acts against treason and sedition, he was deprived of his deanship of the Faculty of Advocates. But the group of able young advocates who rallied round him were only united more closely by the act. As the fear of the Revolution was supplanted in men's minds by the fear of Napoleon, the chances for reform would brighten. But in the meantime, another organisation, The United Scotsman, modelled on English and Irish societies, came into being, and spread in the manufacturing districts. The United Scotsmen was a secret society with an elaborate organisation, but its members

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came from the lowest ranks of workmen and amounted to but a few hundreds. Yet its chief organiser in the eastern shires, a weaver named George Mealmaker, was charged with sedition and with administering an unlawful oath, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. In 1799 the societies of the United Scotsmen were suppressed.

The religious aspect of the revolutionary ferment was of the first importance, for the churches were still the most powerful institutions in the country. The Establishment was consistently anti-democratic, but the Seceders, who now numbered 150,000, were suspected by the government, not without cause. Even in the Church of Scotland there was dissatisfaction with patronage and the relations of church and state. In the large manufacturing towns the taste for a more emotional type of religion had appeared. Robert Haldane, a Stirlingshire gentleman, was awakened by the French Revolution "from the sleep of spiritual death" to a belief that only by a new preaching of the gospel could the golden age be ushered in. This conviction was shared by his brother James, the retired skipper of an East Indiaman. The Haldanes proceeded to put their views into practice; James founded a society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home, and established Sunday Schools in the Highlands; Robert bought the Edinburgh Circus and turned it into an Evangelistic meeting-house. Church and Seceders alike were annoyed by the new competition; the Duke of Atholl protested to the Home Secretary against Sunday schools where the lowest of the people became teachers and instilled into the minds of the rising generation the most pernicious doctrines. He hoped to see Parliament "annihilate the further progress of unlicensed missionaries and

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free schools, whether under the auspices of Mr. Haldane or any other enthusiastic and designing man". It seemed at one time that legislation would be introduced to restrain the dangerous movement, but Robert Haldane issued a frank *Address to the Public* which reassured suspicions.

The Haldanes gave a new impetus to evangelism in the Church of Scotland that had remarkable results, and they infected Edinburgh society with a brand of gloomy and enthusiastic religiosity which, among other triumphs, brought the song-writing of Lady Nairne to an end.

The first definite victory in the cause of Reform came when a group of the younger Whigs in Edinburgh, notably Jeffrey, Brougham, and Sydney Smith, founded the *Edinburgh Review*. This is an event in the history of periodical literature rather than in that of Scottish politics, and a tribute to the continuing vitality of Edinburgh's intellectual life. The *Review* reached a public which the political absorptions of previous years had created, and became, in England as well as in Scotland, a powerful force by its vivacity and high literary quality. The Whigs had almost the monopoly of legal and literary talent in Edinburgh then.

In 1805 an astounding thing occurred. Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, was impeached for peculation! It was as if the sun had fallen from the sky. The pillar on which the whole structure of Scottish government was raised had crumbled into dust. Even when Melville was acquitted and restored to the Privy Council the old sense of security in things established did not return. The god was mortal. "The Pharos of Scotland" by whose light every craft steered, had for a space gone out. A short-lived Whig

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ministry in the following year served to strengthen the belief that Tory administration was not, after all, a natural law.

Now that the French war was over, the cause of Reform looked up again; now aided and now embarrassed by the discontents of the working classes. Glasgow—which employed more looms at that time than there were in all Lancashire—was the heart of the agitation. The pretty little cathedral city which had once been compared with Oxford, had become a crucible of men and emotions, seething with a dark and dangerous life. In 1816 the Government through one of its spies learnt that there was a secret conspiracy among the weavers to use violence in order to obtain a male franchise. The troops were understood to be sympathetic with the cause of the committees. Several men were arrested but the case against those charged with the most serious offence, that of taking a treasonable oath, collapsed when one of them who had turned king's evidence admitted that he had been promised a reward for doing so.

But in 1820 the disaffection in the industrial districts culminated in the so-called "Radical war". That subterranean plotting had been going on is clear but the actual explosion was to some extent the work of *agents provocateurs* in the pay of the government. In Glasgow and other manufacturing towns in the west a placard appeared, issued by a body called "The Committee of Organisation for forming a Provisional Government." It summoned workmen to a general strike on April 1st, so that they could "attend wholly to the recovery of their rights." "Let us show to the world", it said, "that we are not the Lawless, Sanguinary Rabble, which our Oppressors would persuade the higher circles we are, but a Brave and

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Generous People determined to be free." Sixty thousand men obeyed the call.

The streets of Glasgow were full of them, silent, sullen, and inactive, waiting for the signal which would never be given, and in the meantime watching with lowering glances the drawing up of the yeomanry and the hussars who had been drafted into the city to the number of five thousand to deal with the revolution. In Edinburgh there was panic. At any moment fifty thousand weavers were expected to march from the west and seize the Castle and the banks. Lawyers and merchants rushed to join the volunteers; Whigs like Cockburn belted on a sword and took their place in the ranks of "The Armed Association." In the Assembly Rooms about four hundred gentlemen gathered, "dressed coarsely, as if for work, and armed, according to taste or convenience, with bludgeons, fowling pieces, dirks, caneswords or other implements. A zealous banker laboured under two small swivels set on stocks, one under each arm." Even Scott was convinced that civil war was inevitable; a few years before he had assured Southey that the country was mined below their feet; now he believed that there were "upwards of fifty thousand blackguards ready to rise between Tyne and Wear."

But all that happened was an encounter at Bonnymuir between the 10th Hussars and a party of forty weavers who left Glasgow, instigated by spies, to meet some friends who were expected from Carron. The cavalry won a brilliant victory over their ill-armed adversaries, four of whom were wounded. And so ended the "Radical war." Forty-seven prisoners were charged with treason, twenty-four of whom were sentenced to death. But the sentence was carried out only in the case of three, who were, the Whigs

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agreed, guilty of treason "as any old woman is who chooses to charge a regiment of cavalry."

The Whigs gained steadily in strength. In the year of the "war" they defied the Edinburgh magistrates and held the first political meeting in the history of the country; a petition for the removal of the Ministry was signed by seventeen thousand men while the Tories could only muster one thousand seven hundred for a counter-petition. Newspapers came into existence to urge reform, the *Dundee Advertiser* in 1801, the *Ayr Advertiser* in 1803, the *Scotsman* in 1817. And the Government's subsidised press only increased its embarrassments. In 1829 the change that had come over Scotland was revealed by the widespread support for Catholic Emancipation; forty years before, such a display of religious toleration would have been unthinkable.

When the first English Reform Bill passed its second reading the Edinburgh magistrates were compelled to permit illuminations to celebrate the event; when the House of Lords rejected the second bill, public fury reached such proportions that the Whig Government feared a revolution that would defeat their project. "For God's sake, keep the people quiet in Scotland," wrote Jeffrey (now Lord Advocate) to Cockburn. On April the 15th, 1832, a coach, decorated with white ribbons, arrived in Edinburgh, having made the journey from London in thirty-six hours. The Scottish Reform Bill had passed the second reading in the Lords. On June the 27th, the bill was read for the third time. Eight members were added to the Scottish representation; the franchise was extended to householders rated at £10 and to owners of real property whose annual value was £10 and to tenants paying £50 rent. The corrupt Town Councils and

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the parchment barons could no longer speak in the name of Scotland ; the long and disgraceful chapter of political impotence was closed.

For a time there were rejoicings, processions in which black-draped banners were carried "To the memory of Muir, Gerrald and others, who suffered for reform," but the true test of the Act came with the General Election which followed it. Forty-four Whigs were returned in Scotland as against nine Tories. The scale of the revolution will be appreciated when it is noted that in the last Edinburgh election before Reform thirty-nine votes were polled in all, as compared with 9,412 votes in the first election after it.

A year later the long-awaited burgh reform was carried out. Henceforth the burgesses would elect their own Town Councils, a right which they had lost almost four hundred years before, in the troubled and distant reign of James the Third.

The movement for these great enactments had roused the Scottish people to an intense awareness of their political rights and duties ; it had brought them into contact with the wider life of the world and bound them closely to the political life of England ; that it had not educated them out of their national consciousness was seen when the British Parliament threatened that venerated Scottish institution the one pound note. Sir Walter Scott wrote passionate letters and the nation was, for once, unanimous.

The coming of Reform did not mean that the last of the implications of the French Revolution was liquidated. Behind the Whigs were the men who toiled in the cotton mills ; behind the handsome houses of William Playfair's trim new Edinburgh were the slums, growing unnoticed to monstrous proportions ; behind the victory of Reform was another

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struggle, the "real battle that is soon to be fought", as Jeffrey called it.

And in the meantime there was trouble in the Church.

Moderatism had nothing to say to an age which had lost the cool and equable temper of the eighteenth century, which was capable of deeper moral indignations and cruder hypocrisies, which was at once more earnest and more emotional. And besides, the Moderate party had been false to their own lights: in an attempt to keep the Chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh in the hands of the clergy they had brought charges of heresy against a distinguished scientist, John Leslie, who was a candidate for the post. The Evangelical group joined battle with them in the General Assembly and won after a debate which soared into the upper air of metaphysics.

But it was on the old ground of the contending rights of patrons and congregations to elect ministers that the decisive battle was fought. Here there was an obvious parallelism with political tendencies. By 1834 the Evangelicals had the upper hand in the Assembly and passed a Veto Act conferring on a majority of the male heads of families in a congregation the right to reject a presentee. Its legality was tested immediately when the parishioners of Aucherarder voted against the minister chosen for them by the Earl of Kinnoul. The patron took the case to the Court of Session which decided that the Veto Act contravened the Patronage Act of 1711 and was therefore invalid; an appeal to the House of Lords sustained this judgment. After all the centuries the ghost of the Investiture Contest walked again, though here the disputants were not popes and kings but earnest and voluble Presbyterian ministers, and bored but obstinate noblemen.

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A "Claim of Right" which was drawn up and sanctioned by a majority of the Assembly in 1841, stated what was the view of the majority: that the church courts possessed a co-ordinate jurisdiction with the civil courts. This bold assertion was rejected by the House of Commons on a motion to enquire into the grievances of the Scottish Church; but two-thirds of the Scottish members voted for the motion. In 1842 the "non-intrusionists", as the anti-patronage party was called, were getting ready to secede; funds were being collected to build churches and provide for ministers. The Israelites would not go out into the wilderness quite without food and raiment.

When the Assembly of the Church of Scotland met on May 18th, 1843, the Moderator, Dr. Welsh, read a document signed by 203 members of the Assembly in which their reasons for seceding were declared. Thereupon four hundred ministers, led by the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, left the Assembly and marched in procession to a hall where, amid solemn and enthusiastic scenes, they constituted themselves the Free Church of Scotland.

This is the event known as the Disruption; it was the last dismemberment of the Christian Church in Scotland. Already the wind had set fair for the healing of schisms. Among the New Lights, Burghers and anti-Burghers had composed their quarrel; four years after the Disruption, they united with the Relief Church to form the United Presbyterian Church. The Old Lights underwent a more complicated process of re-grouping. Most of the Old Light Burghers went back to the established Church in 1839, while the anti-Burghers, with discontented remnants from the New Light anti-Burghers and the Old Light Burghers, joined the Free Church in 1852. In 1902, Free and

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U.P. were wed, and the day did not seem far distant when a more momentous union could take place, especially since patronage in the Church of Scotland had been abolished in 1874.

But the United Free Church did not come into an untroubling world. In the Free Church there had been two parties, a majority party in favour of the union and a minority party which held that it was the duty of the state to endow religion and that the only issue between them and the Church of Scotland was that the latter did not possess spiritual independence. The U.P.'s, on the other hand, disliked any sort of connection between the spiritual and the secular bodies. The minority in the Free Church—the famous “Wee Frees”—who remained outside the united church claimed the property of the former Free Church as the true heirs of its doctrine and, on appeal to the House of Lords, obtained it. This extraordinary decision, the last of a long series of ignorant and disastrous interventions of the British Parliament in the ecclesiastical life of Scotland, was no sooner arrived at than it was found to be impossible to carry out. The “Wee Frees” were reported to be “unable adequately to execute the Trust of all the endowments” and a commission was appointed to allocate the property fairly and equitably.*

Ecclesiastical politics always bulk larger than religion in Scotland, thanks to the democratic government of her churches. Yet two tendencies in the religious life of the nineteenth century must be noted. The Tractarian movement in England led to the beginning of a cautious development of ceremonial experiment in the Scottish churches which has not yet

* In 1929 the Church of Scotland united with all but a small minority of the United Free Church.

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ended. Organs were installed in the churches in the second half of the century, a discreet symbolism clothed the naked shrines of Presbytery, and liturgical innovation was commenced by Dr. Robert Lee, minister of Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. Doctrinal developments were more interesting, because they were something better than an unimaginative aping of English ways. A volume entitled *Scotch Sermons* raised a storm among the pious when it appeared in 1880; in one sermon the doctrines of election and eternal punishment were referred to as "discredited dogmas of the Schoolmen." The author was compelled to recant before the Assembly. But the Higher Criticism was not so easily stilled. Professor Robertson Smith was charged with heresy by the Free Church for opinions about the composition of the Bible contained in an article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Acquitted on this count, he was found guilty of a similar charge at a later trial and deprived of his Chair of Hebrew at Aberdeen. But that was the turning point. The old orthodox Calvinism had gone, the "Bible Christian" was overwhelmed by the weight of modern scholarship. Against two professors, Dr. Marcus Dods and Dr. A. B. Bruce, who had been as unorthodox as Robertson Smith, the Assembly refused to take action. The Churches must make what terms they could with modern thought without the aid of the infallible scriptures.

XXIV

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THE chronicler has been accustomed to hurry over or to leave entirely untouched the last century of Scottish history. Perhaps he is reluctant to display the paucity of his material; perhaps he doubts whether he has any longer the right to write about a country, Scotland, or a people, the Scots. Even so, the effect of these unfinished symphonies is deplorable; we have a right to know what happened in the end; the gap between our present and the historians' "Finis" must be bridged somehow.

After a fashion, maimed and frustrate, the national life continues. Unprotected by those agencies which the nation-state can employ, it is at the mercy of forces which economic development, scientific discovery, and social instinct bring into the field against it. But though it fights a losing battle and even seems at times to throw up the sponge, surrendering to an undignified and complacent provincialism, the national sense persists, dilute, remote from political and social actualities, a sentiment living on literary memories yet still capable of being appealed to, of being used. The main interest of the period lies in the swift and imposing industrial development, its frightful social consequences, and the repercussions of these upon the thought and politics of the people. The Industrial Revolution, whose beginnings have been traced, transformed the balance of population and wealth in the country, concentrated one-half of the inhabitants

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in the valley of one river and created, wherever it operated, problems of considerable magnitude and appalling severity. And Scotland, to a greater degree than England, was thrown upon the mercy of industrialism, for she did not possess the counterweight of a great agricultural population ; while the slums grew vaster, the emptying of the Highland area reached its intensest flow, the river of emigration was in spate.

But these implications did not trouble the men who brought the Industrial Revolution in being. Their mood was one of hard confidence ; the gleaming new machines stood waiting to be used and Scotland wanted to see the wheels go round.

Scores of new coal mines were sunk in the middle counties from Ayrshire to Fife ; in 1850 Mr. Young, a chemist, found a seam of oil shale near Bathgate in West Lothian and in twenty years there were ninety oil works in existence. The glare of blast furnaces and foundries lit up the sky at Falkirk, on the Clyde, and elsewhere ; in the seventies steel gave Glasgow a great new industry. The Clyde took on its final character when the iron ships came in. Symington's first steamship, the *Charlotte Dundas*, was followed in 1812 by Bell's *Comet*, built at Port Glasgow, but the first iron ship was the *Vulcan*, completed in 1818 at Faskine. The fame which the Clyde yards had won for their sailing ships was transferred to steam ships. In the forties the new Cunard Company gave the first notable stimulus to the industry with several large orders. As steel replaced iron and screw replaced paddle the Clyde yards grew and multiplied ; every circumstance was in favour of swift development ; a native talent for heavy engineering and convenient natural resources—iron, coal, a great waterway—coincided. By the end of the century the Clyde was the greatest

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ship-building area in the world ; its yards gave work to sixty thousand men and produced (in 1913) almost 700,000 tons of shipping. By the middle of the century Glasgow was a city of four hundred thousand people ; by the close its population had reached the million. And Glasgow was the centre of a compact, well-defined industrial region in which more than two million people lived and toiled, at a time when the population of the whole country was less than five millions.

Woollen manufacturers sprang up in the Tweed Valley making a distinctive cloth whose name the inspired error of a London clerk changed from "Tweel" to "Tweed". Linen making spread from Dunfermline into Forfarshire where at Dundee in the thirties a depression in the industry led to the opening of the first jute mills. In the west, cotton declined before the competition of Lancashire but Paisley's thread remained supreme.

These are only the broad lines of an immense transformation which brought hundreds of thousands of people streaming into the over-crowded towns, which scarred the face of Scotland with the black wounds of industrialism, which filled her skies with the soot from thousands of chimneys.

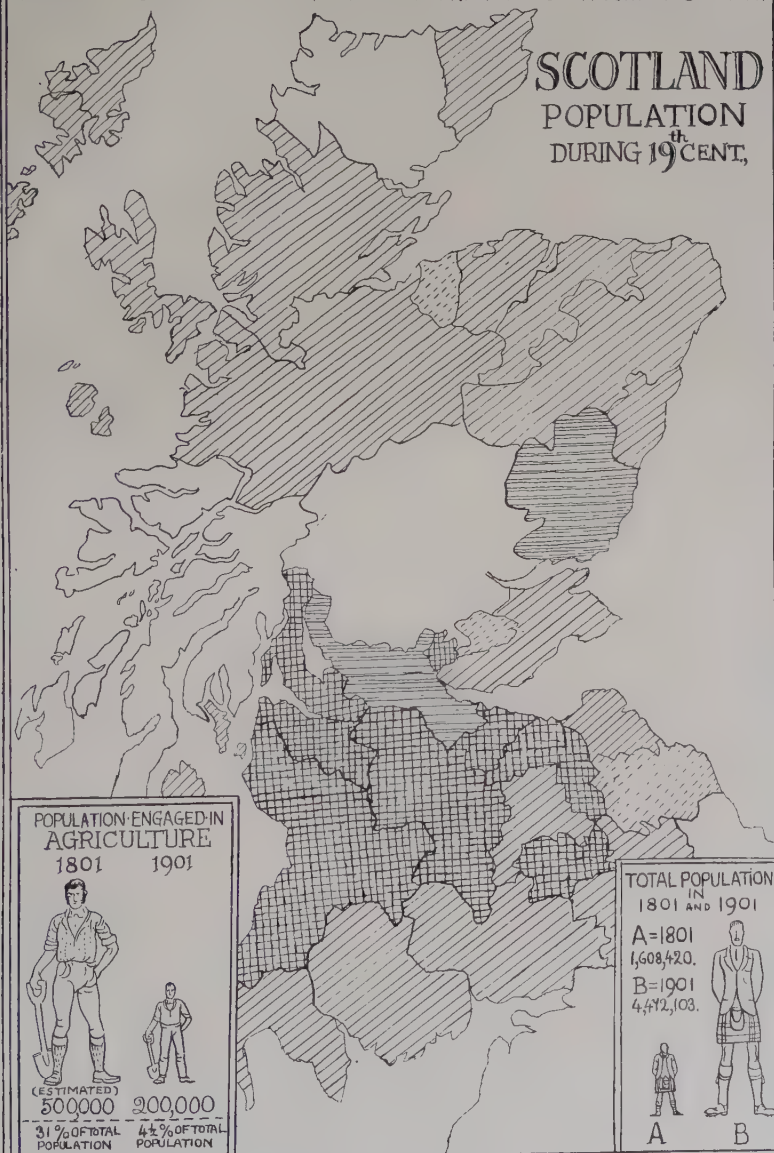
New means of communication came into being to serve the new industries.

The Caledonian Canal was cut through the Great Glen between 1803 and 1822 ; it failed to justify the hope that it would become a great highway of east and west traffic. When the Battle of Prestonpans was fought a horse-drawn train, serving the coal mines at Tranent, ran near the site of the battle. By 1832, two steam-driven locomotives were at work on the ten-mile railway between Monkland and Kirkintilloch.

COUNTIES WHERE POPULATION IS ———

-  — LESS IN 1901 THAN IN 1801. - - - - -
-  — STATIC DURING THE CENTURY. - - - - -
-  — RELATIVELY LESS IN GROWTH THAN THAT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY
-  — RELATIVELY EQUAL IN GROWTH TO THAT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY
-  — RELATIVELY MORE IN GROWTH THAN THAT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY

SCOTLAND POPULATION DURING 19th CENT.



THE CHANGING FACE OF MODERN SCOTLAND.

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In the next twenty years an expansion of railways took place. Radiating from the two focal points, Glasgow and Edinburgh, a whole network of lines covered the industrial region, and pushed southwards to Berwick where they linked up with English lines. The Firths of Forth and Tay were bridged in the eighties by the North British Railway company which, from a sixty-two mile line between Edinburgh and Berwick in 1846, had grown to 749 miles twenty years later. In the end the railways had crystallised into five systems, the North British, the Caledonian, the Glasgow and South Western, the Highland (centred at Perth) and the Great North of Scotland (radiating from Aberdeen).

Upon the record which has been briefly outlined above it is customary to congratulate the people of Scotland. This would be justified if there were not another side to the Industrial Revolution. The darkest chapter in Scottish history has still to be told.

Into the towns which sprang up under the magic wand of the new industrialism poured a vast throng of hungry, uprooted, and bewildered men and women. Their village industries had been destroyed; their little farms snatched from them; their old ways of life broken up. They were at the mercy of the mill-owner and the town landlord; behind them, treading on their heels—ready to tread them down—pressed thousands upon thousands more, all hungry, desperate, and eager to work. Above them reigned inscrutable and uncomprehended laws which decreed that now trade should slump and mill-doors be shut, now crops should fail and bread be dearer. And in the filthy wynds and closes of the industrial towns the agony of half a people was lived and suffered, and a new thing came to birth in Scotland the end of which is not yet.

The most appalling feature of the new industrialism

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was the housing conditions which it created. The people were hunted into the towns faster than houses could be built for them. The capitalists were too busy with their new factories and the selling of their products to notice what was happening around them; the municipalities did not awaken to reality until it was too late. By the time a conscience was created the problem was baffling in its horror and immensity. It is easy to understand how it happened. In the first forty years of the nineteenth century 350,000 newcomers entered the Clyde valley; they came down from the depeopled glens, they came over by the boats from Ireland. And housing simply could not keep up with the numbers. In the ten years between 1831 and 1841 the population of Glasgow grew by 33,000; the number of houses built in the same period was 3,551. The very solidity of the old Scottish stone houses made the problem graver because it postponed the necessity to tear down and rebuild. Century after century these tenements which have grown out of the townhouses of a vanished race of merchants can be occupied—that is to say, they do not crumble into ruins for, unfortunately, they are not jerry-built. And every year they grow fouler and older and more crowded. When houses were built for a population which existed on scanty and dubious earnings they were erected over the “backgreens” behind the first line of tenements, where a former generation of housewives had dried and bleached their clothes. Access to them was made easier by the fact that the old front-rank houses were entered at the back by a tunnel or close leading from the street to the turnpike-stair which served each of the five or six floors. So Glasgow builders—and not builders in Glasgow alone—met the problem of housing the new thousands. Nor had the

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cities a monopoly of bad housing. In the mining districts conditions were as bad and in rural Scotland the "bothy" had an evil reputation of its own. Everywhere, there was an almost complete absence of sanitation—no sewers, no drains, no lavatory accommodation.

Here in the fever dens and the cinder heaps was reared a new generation of the Scots, wizened and stunted troglodytes who peered out at the world with eyes very different from their forebears'. English reformers came north and were horrified by sights which made the slums of England look almost like garden cities. "The Glasgow closes, wynds, and vennels", wrote Chadwick, "are about the most unhealthy places in Europe. The next worst in all probability are the closes of Edinburgh." Nor did the evil affect a small area ; the census of 1861 reported that 226,723 families—one-third of the total population—were living in houses of one room with one window ; in that year 100,000 Glasgow people—about a quarter of the total—were living in one-roomed houses. Yet the attempt to combat the gigantic evil was not made—or not made until it was too late ;—the conscience of the nation awakened slowly. When John Bright told the incredulous students of Glasgow University in 1884 that one-third of the inhabitants of the city were living in one-roomed houses where neither sun nor air could penetrate, he caused a riot.

Yet there was no lack of evidence for the existence of social conditions which were a menace as well as a disgrace to the community. Crime grew three times as rapidly as the population. Every now and then typhus, cholera, or fever would decimate the slum-dwellers and stir the middle-classes into a panic-stricken realisation that there was something wrong.

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For disease, unlike the slum-dweller, showed a deplorable readiness to spread beyond the slums. In 1775 one out of every 267 of the inhabitants of Glasgow died of phthisis; in 1853, after three-quarters of a century of progress, the proportion had risen to one in every 158. In 1843 one-eighth of the population of Glasgow took typhus; in Edinburgh about the same time 2,000 people died of fever each year. Later sanitary conditions improved and medical knowledge widened, but the basic evil of over-crowding grew worse. In the twentieth century a Glasgow medical officer said, "Glasgow is housed as it was in the 60's, but the houses are older and the population is twice as big." In the first decade of that century one child in every eight died in the first twelve months and in Edinburgh seventy per cent. of the children attending certain schools were reported to be physically unsound. It was small wonder that the military authorities were compelled to lower the height standard for recruits for Scottish regiments from 5 feet 6 inches in 1845 to 5 feet 2 inches in 1897.

The men and women who lived in the tall black barracks and whose children played in the sunless courts bore not on their bodies only the marks of their intolerable ordeal. The price of the slums was not paid only in shrunken limbs and disease-stricken frames and in the coffins of those who died too early. Stamped deeply upon the soul of the Scottish nation to-day is the memory of an experience such as no other Western people has passed through. In the foul and malodorous dens a new spirit was being tempered, different in its origins and its aims from that of the Covenanters yet as grim and bare and ruthless as theirs. Scotland will not have finished with the slums when the last condemned tenement is razed. "Under

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that hideous coverlet of vapours, and putrefactions and unimaginable gases, what fermenting vat lies hid ? ” Carlyle’s uneasy wondering may now be answered, in part.

Not that the consequences of the Industrial Revolution end with the story of the slums. The brutality of employers made the nightmare of the early factory system still darker. Men, women and children worked like beasts in the mines, which killed twice as many men as the English mines; in the mills wages were pitifully low and, before the Truck Acts, in many cases, paid in goods. Women and boys worked long hours in the mines for a wretched wage; in Dundee flax-mills the foremen’s watches were smashed by the employers so that the workers might not know how long they worked. Time and again employees who were paid high wages were dismissed *en masse* so that starving hand-loom weavers or Irish immigrants might be introduced. Between 1857 and 1862 factory inspectors reported that male adult labour had decreased by 18 per cent. and male child labour increased by 33 per cent. Children were brought to the Forfarshire flax-mills as soon as they could walk and worked there for sixteen hours a day. In the bleachfields it was not unknown that children should work for two days and nights on end. The physical consequences of such things, coupled with the periodic spells of starvation which every class of worker suffered can be imagined, if not described.

The Industrial Revolution had one profound effect upon the racial and religious complexion of Scotland, the full consequences of which cannot yet be estimated. It called into being an Irish Roman Catholic population which, before long, assumed proportions alarming to those who had the preservation of the native Scottish

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stock at heart. As early as the time of Cromwell there were Irish beggars to be found on the Scottish roads ; some of the thousand mendicants who flocked to share the charity money at the Earl of Eglinton's funeral in 1723 were Irish. But it is with the beginning of industrial development that the influx of Irish became a mass movement.

During the disturbances at the time of the French Revolution the government paid a sum of money secretly to the Roman Catholic clergy in Scotland for the purpose of restraining the rebellious instincts of their Irish flock. Capitalists in search of cheap labour advertised in Irish newspapers and the response came over by the ship-load from Dublin and 'Derry, the fare being less than two shillings. The famine years of 1845 and 1846, which reduced the population of Ireland from eight millions to four-and-a-half, brought the immigration to a still intenser stage. In 1849, when the Chief Constable of Haddingtonshire reported over one thousand Irish in his district, half of them vagrants, the steamer *Thistle* carried one thousand nine hundred passengers from 'Derry on her decks in one crossing. It was estimated then—with some small exaggeration perhaps—that one quarter of the population in the industrial areas was Irish ; even in rural districts they were to be found.

These immigrants from the turf-cabins of Connemara did something to reduce the standard of life among the Scottish working-classes ; they cannot be entirely exculpated from the crime of the slums, although they suffered, perhaps, more than any other classes from them. They were at first refused poor relief altogether and later could only get it after five years' residence. The result was that they undercut the Scottish worker, lowered his wages, and earned his dislike. On one

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occasion a strike in a coal-mining district had for its object the removal of Irish miners. On another, navvies working on the Edinburgh-Berwick railway struck against the importation of starving Irishmen.

The Irish outlived this economic rivalry, but, as they grew until they numbered with their Scottish-born children about one-eighth of the total population, they constituted a problem which was bound to bulk ever larger in the national mind. It was unfortunate that they were divided from the Scots among whom they lived both by race and by religion, for the double cleavage made assimilation harder. At the point where this narrative ends the Irish problem is still unresolved, but one thing is clear : Scotland will no longer be a nation reared in an atmosphere wholly Protestant and Presbyterian; the Roman Catholic element which is Irish, or of Irish origin, grows faster than the Scottish and Protestant stock, a fact which has already begun to disturb the Presbyterian churches. But they, it may be observed, did nothing to discourage the original importation or to condemn its motives.

The vileness of the slums, the brutality of the factory system, the insecurity of life for the workman under industrialism, the uprooting of men and the herding of them in strange crowded areas—these could only result in the growing consciousness of a community of interest and suffering, and in efforts to organise that consciousness. Scotland having suffered more than any other country from a reckless industrialism, the revolt against it bulks large in recent history.

As early as 1782, Scottish cotton weavers had formed a trade union : in the beginning of the nineteenth century local strikes were frequent, but severe Combination Acts made joint action difficult and the discontent of the working classes found vent

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for a time in the political agitations which culminated in the Reform Bill and the Chartist movement of the 40's. The real organisation of modern trade unions began in the second half of the century with the agitation of Alexander Campbell and Alexander MacDonald. The first named formed Trades Councils in the towns, which gave local unions a common meeting-place and a corporate existence; the second worked ceaselessly in the interest of the Scottish miners, whose atrocious conditions of life and work made them almost the most unfortunate victims of industrialism. In 1886, MacDonald's work was achieved with the formation of the Scottish Miners' Federation. The secretary of this body was a man named James Keir Hardie. By 1892 there were about 150,000 trade union members in Scotland.

The pressure of the working class movement lent force to the agitation, which was not confined to one class, for better factory conditions. The nation, men came to realise, had a responsibility towards those whose toil and sufferings it had been apt to take for granted. Legislation imposed upon the factory owners that care for their work-people which commercial prudence, to say nothing of morality, should have elicited from them voluntarily. The rights to combine and to strike were granted to the workman and exercised by him to secure a greater share of the profits of industry. Self-reliance grew up among the workers and benefit societies and co-operative enterprises for the distribution of goods were started. Long before the first co-operative store was opened in Lancashire, the weavers of Fenwick were buying meal wholesale and selling it retail. In the early years of the century societies for the sale of provisions were to be found in several towns in the industrial west. By

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1830 there were about four hundred co-operative societies in existence. These existed to sell; similar organisations for production met with failure.

But the working classes did not only fashion instruments for their economic defence. They did not merely contemplate the slums and the factories with hatred; they began to ask, "By what law are we set here to produce the wealth which others enjoy?" As soon as that question was asked a period of intense intellectual activity opened among the artisans. The ideal of social justice seized on their minds and filled them with a new spirit which gradually assumed the character of a religion. The covenanting fervour was born again in the tenements and the miners' rows; its eyes were fixed upon a single goal, not the Church in its pristine purity, but the world purged of social and economic inequality. Strangely similar were its products to those that were moulded in the fire lit by Knox: the narrowness and fixity of the train of thought was the same; the austerity and puritanical temper, the contemptuous brushing aside of everything that marred the grand simplicity of the ideal, the unselfishness, the fanaticism, the harshness—all those old strains poured back into the soul of the common people of Scotland. It is not necessary to approve the conclusions of Socialism, in order to admire what it did for those who at the opening of the century were helpless, oppressed, and despairing.

Not at once did this ideal become a coherent doctrine, not immediately did it capture the imagination of the people, nor was it embodied in a political party until the century was far advanced. But the emergence of a distinct political attitude of the wage-earners is the central fact in the recent history of Scotland. If the conflict which it engendered was

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fought out more fiercely in Scotland than in England the old cross-grained Calvinist spirit may be partly blamed ; but the greater severity with which industrial transformation beat upon the Scots, coupled with its catastrophic suddenness, must share the responsibility.

“There is no European nation”, wrote Scott in the epilogue to *Waverley*, “which within the course of half-a-century, or little more, has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland. . . . The gradual influx of wealth, and extension of commerce, have since united to render the present people of Scotland a class of beings as different from their grandfathers as the existing English are from those of Queen Elizabeth’s time.” Nor was industrial and commercial expansion the only form which the transformation took.

Although the high summer of land enclosure in Scotland was the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, vast areas of common land were alienated in the memory of men living in the first half of the nineteenth. The corrupt Town Councils of the years before the Burgh Reform Act performed quietly, constantly, and without opposition the task of transferring to private ownership the land belonging to the community. Lord Cockburn wrote in 1845, “When I was a boy, nearly the whole vicinity of Edinburgh was open. Corstorphine Hill, Braid Hill, Craiglockhart Hill, the Pentland Hills, the seaside from Leith to Queensferry, the river-side from Penicuik by Roslin and Hawthornden to Lasswade, the Valley of Habbie’s How and innumerable other places now closed or fast closing were all free. . . . Everything was favourable to the way-thief and the poor were laughed at. The public were gradually man-trapped off everything beyond the high-road.” This was not true of

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Edinburgh alone; in Renfrew, for example, at the opening of the century, one-eleventh of the county area was still common. It was not to be wondered at that the majority of the land reformers were Scotsmen.

One of the earliest experiments in running factories on humane lines was made in Scotland at New Lanark by the Englishman Robert Owen who became manager of the "New Lanark Twist Company" in 1799; in 1817 he proposed the creating of "villages of unity and co-operation." In a famous *Report to the County of Lanark* Owen produced the plan of a communistic society of agricultural villages each of which was to be built in the form of a square or parallelogram, and to contain about a thousand people who were to be dressed in the costume of the Romans or of the Scottish Highlanders. His penchant for this costume, which he encouraged the children in his New Lanark mills to wear, gave as much offence to his Quaker partners in the business as did his free-thinking views on religion. The County of Lanark resisted the temptation of embarking on a social experiment on this scale but some of the county gentry were impressed and in 1825 Archibald James Hamilton of Dalzell and Abram Combe founded a co-operative community at Orbiston near Motherwell. This had a precarious life of about two years.

Between these abortive Utopias and the birth of the modern Socialist movement in Scotland there is a wide gulf of years. The working classes were for long absorbed in the struggle to extend the franchise and to abolish the Corn Laws and did not lose in a day the loyalty to the Liberal Party which this engendered. But Socialist propaganda, spreading under the surface of political life, came to the surface in the end. In 1843 the *Glasgow Herald* referred to the "noxious

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sect " of Socialists who appeared in Glasgow Green ; the nationalisation of the land and the advent of a new social system were referred to at Chartist gatherings ; in 1852 the Commissioner for Mines in Scotland observed with alarm the spread of Socialism in the mining districts. The practical example set by the municipalities in taking over gas and water supply and similar services furnished new arguments for the Socialists. In the 80's the land nationalisation movement whose prophet was Henry George made thousands of converts in Scotland.

For some time the resources of the working class politicians did not permit them to fight Parliamentary elections ; the early Labour candidates were nominally Liberals although their programmes contained a strong dash of Socialism. In 1874 the Scottish miners' leader, Alexander MacDonald, was elected for an English seat ; the 1886 election gave to the House of Commons a crofter's son, Angus Sutherland, who won Sutherlandshire, and, most picturesque of all personalities in modern Scottish politics, the laird, caballero, writer of superb prose, and Socialist, R. B. Cunningham-Graham, who fought and won North-West Lanark.

Meanwhile the shipwright's son, James Keir Hardie, was carrying on by the spoken word and through the paper which he founded, *The Miner*, an agitation for separate labour representation. In 1888 he stood as a Labour candidate for the mid-Lanark division and polled 712 votes ; in June of the same year the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party was founded with Cunningham-Graham as its first chairman. Its programme included nationalisation of land and minerals, an eight hours' day, state insurance, abolition of the House of Lords and all hereditary offices, Home

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Rule, the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the disestablishment of the State Churches. Thus Socialism as an organised political force appeared first in Scotland; when the Independent Labour Party was formed five years later it was due to the energy and organising ability of the Scottish Socialists led by Keir Hardie.

From that time the separate contribution of Scotland to the Labour Movement is less marked; but it continues as an energising and dogmatic left wing in alliance with English labour. In the twentieth century, when the Scottish Labour Party was merged in the Labour Party, Scotland remained a storm-centre where new ideas about Socialist aims and policy fermented and from which they reached England. Thus in 1903 a Scottish secession from the Social Democratic Federation brought the Socialist Labour Party into existence, its purpose the preaching of the revolution and no palliatives. This body came under the influence of American syndicalism. Its members entered the trade unions where they, with James Connolly at their head, preached industrial as opposed to craft unionism. Thus a revolutionary element appeared among the organised workers, especially on the Clyde. The shop stewards which this new type of unionism created were destined to play an important part in the stormy history of Clyde labour.

If there was a horror in the urban districts under their black cloud of industrialism, in the Highlands there was a horror of another kind. If this did not provoke the vigorous revolt that arose in the cities it was only because its victims did not remain in the country where they had suffered. Emigrants do not rebel. The peculiarly sinister series of events known as the Highland Clearances were only the culmination

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at an intenser pace and with peculiar attendant brutality of a process that had been going on since the middle of the eighteenth century. As early as 1739 there is word of ships "gon from thiss country with a greate many people designed for America." The Highland landlords in order to convert their estates into sheep runs turned thousands of their tenants out of their farms. How many hundreds of thousands of men and women were forced to leave their homes by these measures, how many hundreds of hamlets were destroyed, how many thousands of acres were thrown out of cultivation never to return are questions which cannot be answered.

The occasion of the first large-scale clearance in the Highlands is variously given as the clearing of the Drummond estates in 1762 and that of the Glengarry estates in 1782. In the ten years between 1763 and 1773 it was estimated that twenty thousand people had been driven from their homes.

As the nineteenth century advanced the evictions became steadily larger and more ruthless. Hugh Miller reports that fifteen thousand people were evicted in Sutherlandshire from 1811 to 1820. Three thousand left Inverness-shire in 1801 and in seven years thirty thousand sheep were grazing on their lands. The climax came in the 30's and 40's with the great clearances in Ross and Sutherlandshire. Men and women, irrespective of their age or health, had their cottages burnt over their heads by the agents of the landlords. They lay in bitterly cold weather on the open fields, starved on the sea-shore where they were allowed to squat in wretched huts, or died of cholera on the ships which bore them to Canada. In 1846 there was famine in the Highlands; 300,000 people were on the verge of starvation, dependent on

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supplies sent to them from Destitution Funds in Edinburgh and Glasgow. When the work of the evictors was done, the Highlands were practically destroyed as the home of a race which, though it did not live in luxury or even in comfort, had contributed brawn and courage to the armies of Britain.

It is sometimes supposed that the people were cleared out to make room for deer forests ; in the great majority of cases this is untrue. The discovery that their tenants were living in conditions of deplorable poverty from which they ought to be rescued was made by the Highland landlords at a time when, by a fortunate coincidence, it had become profitable to breed sheep on the northern hills. Until 1850 the numbers of sheep in the Highlands grew steadily.

The attractions of sport in the area were late in being discovered and commercialised. In 1786 Colonel Thornton shot, fished, and falconed where he liked all over the Highlands ; in 1833 Lord Malmesbury reported the same happy state of things, though there is reason to believe that by that time some preservation of shooting rights existed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only nine deer forests ; forty years later deer were found in thirty-nine areas. But it was not until the wool prices broke under Australian competition in the 70's that the great transformation took place. In 1883 there were 1,975,209 acres of deer forests ; in 1912 the total had grown to 3,584,966 acres, of which a million and a half had been scheduled by a Royal Commission as fit for conversion into land holdings.

On the whole, the clearances were carried through without the organised and determined resistance which might have been looked for. The reason is to be sought in the powerful hold which the Church had taken upon

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the minds of the Highland peasantry. The ministers preached that the clearances were the punishment of God for their sins and it was owing to this, said a correspondent of the *Times* in 1845 that "they refrain from breaking into open and turbulent resistance of the law." Yet the soothing influence of religion, whose value to established authority was never more remarkably demonstrated, did not entirely banish the old Adam from the breasts of men and women who saw their homesteads go up in flames. In 1820 troops fled before the insurgent Ross-shire crofters they were sent to quell; in the same shire women were worsted in a brutal and desperate battle with police. In the eighties severe trouble broke out in Skye and the Western islands. The so-called "Crofters' War" owed something to Irish example and something to native agitation. Tracts of land were seized and manifestoes distributed containing such sentiments as "Set fire to the heather or destroy the game, disturb the deer; poison game dogs, burn the property of all obnoxious landlords, agents, etc. Cut down the telegraph wires and posts. Stop the mail-carts, destroy the letters." A Sheriff Officer was forced to burn his summonses; in the "battle of the braes" a dozen policemen were hurt; a mass attack on Portree Gaol where some of the ringleaders were imprisoned would have been made, with ships' masts to batter down the doors, had not the crofters' leaders intervened. Bluejackets were sent to the island to restore peace, but as an outcome of the "war" fixity of tenure was granted to the crofters in 1886. In the following year a thousand Lewis men, armed with old pikes and led by the patriarchs of their townships marched from one end of the island to the other driving the deer before them into the sea. Two hundred animals were drowned

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and, when a handful of the leaders of the enterprise were found not guilty by an Edinburgh jury, the crowd carried them in triumph down the High Street.

By the end of the century the government at last awakened to the fact that a grave evil existed and a hideous injustice, which was also a national blunder, had been committed. In 1897 the Scottish Congested Districts Board was set up with power to enlarge old land holdings and to create new ones. With the passing in 1911 of the Small Landholders' (Scotland) Act, the duties of the body were taken over by the Board of Agriculture for Scotland whose task it was to carry through a more energetic policy of land settlement. At the end of 1912 it had received 5,352 applications for new or bigger holdings; by the end of 1914 it had settled 434 men on new holdings and had enlarged 239 existing crofts.

One of the curious episodes in a century which saw Scotland bound up more and more closely with its southern neighbour was the obtaining of an increasing measure of administrative autonomy. The causes of this process were the existence of a distinct law and judicature, of a national church, and of social conditions which were not reproduced south of the Tweed. In 1884 an impressive national convention held in Edinburgh convinced the Government that the system whereby the Lord Advocate performed the functions of a Minister for Scotland in addition to his legal duties could not go on. In the following year the office of Secretary for Scotland was created; his powers were to include those that had belonged to the Home Office, the Privy Council, the Treasury, and the Local Government Board for England. Ten years later was created the Local Government Board, a department of State presided over by the Secretary for Scotland and

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situated in Edinburgh; in 1911 the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries was added to the list of Scottish ministries.

Here, then, was administrative independence to a considerable extent. It seemed only a logical extension to obtain a corresponding measure of legislative autonomy. The agitation for Scottish Home Rule had never quite died out since the Union of the Parliaments; Prince Charles had used the repeal of the Union as a bait for Scottish sentiment in 1745; in the revolutionary troubles at the beginning of the nineteenth century Home Rule had been a favourite party-cry of the Radicals. During the middle part of the century, Patrick Edward Dove, the land reformer, had carried on an agitation for a national parliament; the programme of the Scottish Labour Party had included Home Rule for Scotland, which has, indeed, never been erased from the banner of the chief Socialist organisations; one of the early political posts held by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was that of secretary to the Scottish Home Rule Association. A succession of associations existed with no other purpose than that of restoring to Scotland that which she lost in 1707.

But, in spite of the fact that the movement attracted a brilliant personality like Cunninghame Graham, it failed to awake the enthusiasm, as distinct from the passive approval, of the Scottish people. It has always been easily tacked on to other movements which were, in essence, alien to it. Besides, the concentration of political interest upon economic questions in which Scotland and England were almost inextricably knit together tended to reduce to a minor key a demand based on culture and national psychology. Home Rule for Scotland—it is a battle between history and geography which geography has won so far. Yet

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this is not to say that the last word has been heard about Scottish nationalism in politics.

Since the Union of 1707 a Scottish nationality, deprived of the means of expressing itself as a political entity, had lived on in other modes, as a force in philosophy, in literature, in art, and in religion. Scottish culture was a more brilliant thing than the Scottish state had ever been. But now events were moving so as to make the existence of a distinct Scottish utterance in the things of the spirit increasingly difficult. Modern industry brought power and wealth to men of the harsh old Calvinist stamp whose traditional attitude to the arts was one of austere and unconcealed contempt; in its final development towards greater centralisation, and, therefore, greater dependence upon London, it drew from the country many of those higher officials from whom and from whose families a certain degree of interest in and patronage of the arts might have been expected. Above all, it plunged the great mass of the people into depths of wretchedness and squalor where the higher pursuits of the mind could have no possible meaning.

Education widened its range—the prestige of Clydeside engineering was founded upon the high intelligence and technical skill of the artisans—but narrowed its aim. It was given a more utilitarian purpose; it was to fit men to be more efficient workmen. Even so there was a remarkable amount of genuine thirst for knowledge for its own sake among the peasants and the urban proletariat which was satisfied by books read furtively in the factories or by hard-won, dearly-paid-for terms at the universities. David Livingstone in the Blantyre cotton-mill, Thomas

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Carlyle, the stone-mason's son, Keir Hardie, reading in the short hours of leisure above ground he enjoyed as a mining boy, represented a finer ambition than the "Knowledge is money" school of thought can understand. These men were not alone of their kind in nineteenth century Scotland.

On the contrary, most of the literature which it produced was the work of men who snatched odd moments from daily tasks to write what they wanted to write. For the occasional genius such conditions of work are not always a disadvantage, but a culture does not depend upon genius; it has a quantitative side. It was rare indeed for a Scottish man of letters in the nineteenth century to be a man who could devote himself wholly to literature; circumstances were draining the leisured class away from the country or building a wall between them and its national life.

Written to fetch in a much-needed cheque or between intervals of daily earning, Scottish literature betrays in a certain slipshodness and haste of thought and expression the circumstances of its begetting. Men wrote quickly and not too well, or else with a careful eye to the easiest public, and the largest return. Instead of expressing and criticising the life about them, they began to exploit it for the pleasure of foreign palates. Scottish culture became not so much a variant of English as a debased coin of the same currency, a Birmingham product, cheap, facile, and brazen. To some extent this was facilitated by the decline in Scotland of a coherent, highly-educated nucleus of critics and connoisseurs with whom first would lie the judging of a book. After all, a culture is not so much a mass of work or a list of names as a type of human society.

Scottish culture did not long survive the death of

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Scott. John Gibson Lockhart had fled to London by 1825 ; before 1830 John Galt's best novels, *The Provost*, *The Annals of the Parish*, *The Entail* and *Sir Andrew Wylie* had all been written ; Susan Ferrier lived until 1854, to see the glory of Blackwood's Magazine departed, but her excellent novel, *Marriage*, was published three years after Waterloo. James Hogg died in 1835, and, like the others, left no literary heirs behind him. Henceforward there were men of letters and books, but there was no literature. Carlyle took the old prophetic fire of Calvinism to London ; *Sartor Resartus* issued from Craigenputtick in 1833, but it appeared not in the Edinburgh Blackwood's but in Fraser's Magazine ; next year Carlyle went to Cheyne Row. When Stevenson arrives on the scene—born 1850 ; *An Inland Voyage*, 1878—there is no continuity linking him as a member of literary society with the earlier literary glories of Scotland and Edinburgh ; his reputation is made in England and America, not in his own country ; there is no one to publish him or to criticise him in Edinburgh, he is an eccentric and solitary specimen of an all but extinct species. Stevenson's theme in his novels is not the Scotland of his own time, but the imagined Scotland of a romantic and highly-mannered past. There is not the superb character-drawing of Scott in these historical novels of his, *Kidnapped* and the rest, but there is swifter action and a more accomplished and self-conscious style. He is followed by Neil Munro, whose picturesque and racy Highland romances discover a Celtic sunlight of their own, and by John Buchan, a historian, a master of packed and arresting phrase, and an adept in the Stevensonian mysteries. Sir James M. Barrie invested with a frail and winsome humour the somewhat blowsy charms of the Presbyterian manse type of

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Scottish rural novel commonly referred to as the "Kailyard School." His talent for dialogue found more suitable expression in drama.

Two men stand apart. George Douglas Brown wrote a counter-blast to the "Kailyarders," *The House with the Green Shutters*. This fine, terrible book with its restrained, calculated art, written by a Fleet Street hack, is the best modern Scottish novel. R. B. Cunninghame Graham does not write romances being himself a romance, but his exquisite travel narratives and short stories have by their fastidious craftsmanship earned for him a unique position in Scottish letters.

Scottish painting having produced during the eighteenth century Allan Ramsay, son of the poet, an artist with several charming portraits of women to his credit, along with some lesser men, at its close nourished the genius of Henry Raeburn. This great portrait painter was the founder of a school and a tradition which is alive to-day. Sir David Wilkie, the *genre* painter, finished his *Pitlessie Fair* in 1804; he was at his best in brisk renderings of homely scenes from Scottish rural life. Scottish landscape painting was born with Alexander Naysmyth and John Thomson of Duddingston, who died in 1840. Throughout the century Scottish art remained vigorous and individual enough to throw up painters of note from Pettie to D. Y. Cameron and McTaggart. In the eighties it produced a new movement in art, the Glasgow School, under the influence of French impressionism. Its leaders were young men studying in Glasgow and included E. A. Walton, John Lavery, James Paterson, James Guthrie, and W. Y. McGregor. During the nineteenth century there was a popular awakening of interest in art, the chief results of which were the erection of the National Gallery, and Royal

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Institution in Edinburgh, and the Municipal Gallery in Glasgow.

In the early years of the twentieth century there was a brief efflorescence of intellectual activity in Edinburgh. To some extent it was due to the inspiring personality of Professor Patrick Geddes and to some extent it was a backwash from the Irish literary renaissance. Somewhat meretricious adventures in the Celtic dusk were recorded by Fiona Macleod, and John Duncan, a young painter, was deeply influenced by Celtic art. But the most remarkable outcome of the brief enthusiasm for Celtic things was the discovery by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser of an exquisite folk-poetry and folk-music among the Gaelic-speaking fisherfolk of Eriskay and other Hebridean islands. It is one of the most romantic and fortunate accidents in modern history that this small and lovely world yielded up its treasure before it passed away.

On the 4th of August, 1914, Scotland with the rest of the British Empire went to war with Germany. When we take leave of her at that supreme and tragic moment of her history several questions are inevitably on the lips. Will Scotland be able to maintain her national existence in the face of ever more formidable enemies? Will she become progressively submerged in larger unities and wider interests? Will she be content to sink her individuality at the demand of peremptory and powerful forces of assimilation? Will she, granting her the will to assert herself, command the resources to make her will effective? Will the political association that has brought her so much good and so much ill continue to satisfy her? Is the long and many-coloured chapter which she has

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added to the story of European civilisation to draw weakly and drably to a close ?

With such doubtings and such fears after so many centuries the history of Scotland breaks off. What the answers may be it is impossible to forecast. Yet it is plain that to a great degree they will depend upon the strength and persistence of qualities of the mind which were slowly fashioned through many scenes and many ages, upon sea shores where the boats of dead men touched land, in ancient forest clearings, among the shouts of forgotten battlefields and in little vanished towns, at the courts of shadowy princes and amid preachings long since silent, as men came and went, quarrelled and thought and toiled, in the country which is called Scotland.

FINIS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AN exhaustive bibliography of the sort that serves rather to advertise the erudition of the author than to enlighten and assist the reader would clearly be out of place in this book. But a short list of books which I have found at once valuable and interesting may be helpful to those who wish to go a little deeper, but not too deep.

Among general histories P. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland* (three volumes) remains the indispensable and solid—sometimes all too solid—foundation of further study. Robert S. Rait's *History* in the Home University Library deals in a suggestive manner with the six main phases of historical development. R. L. Mackie's *Scotland* has the merits of picturesque style, psychological insight, and organic unity.

A considerable amount of the information required for the still unwritten economic history of Scotland will be found in James Mackinnon's *The Social and Industrial History of Scotland*, in its two parts, *From the Earliest Times to the Union* and *From the Union to the Present Time*. An excellent study of economic conditions between the two Unions is contained in Theodore Keith's *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland, 1603-1707*; light upon a distinctive Scottish institution is shed by *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, by J. Davidson and A. Gray; W. R. Kermack's *Historical Geography of Scotland* should also be consulted. For constitutional history, R. S. Rait's fascinating volume, *The Parliaments of Scotland*, is immensely worth reading. Church history may be studied (circumspectly) in A. R. MacEwen's *A History of the Church in Scotland* (to the Reformation), and Belle-sheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*. The best account of the growth of Scots literature is still J. H. Millar's *A Literary History of Scotland*. J. L. Caw's *Scottish Painting Past and Present* carries the story of Scottish Art down to 1908. A biological study which throws immense light upon the Scottish past is J. Ritchie's *Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland*.

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